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TO PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

ON

H. R. 3986, H. R. 4004
AND H. R. 4005

BILLS TO PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT
BECAUSE OF RACE, CREED, COLOR, NATIONAL
ORIGIN, OR ANCESTRY

VOLUME 2

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TO PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1944

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON LABOR,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Mary T. Norton (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will please come to order. As you probably all know, we adjourned the hearings because of the recess of Congress, on the Scanlon, Dawson, and LaFollette bills. We arranged to continue hearings this morning. We have not had requests for time from any opponents.

We have two witnesses this morning and we have some statements for the record that have been sent to us from other interested parties. Unless I have requests from opponents, we hope to conclude our hearings today.

Mr. Fisher, have you had any request from opponents to appear?

Mr. FISHER. None have communicated with me, Madam Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I have not had any requests, so I think probably we will be able to conclude our hearings today.

Our first witness is Mr. Harry J. Gerrity, who represents the National Association of Building Owners and Managers.

Mr. Gerrity, will you proceed and tell us whom you represent and why you are interested in this bill?

STATEMENT OF HARRY J. GERRITY, GENERAL COUNSEL, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BUILDING OWNERS AND MANAGERS

Mr. GERRITY. Madam Chairman and gentlemen, I am general counsel of the National Association of Building Owners and Managers. It is a national organization representing office buildings and loft buildings throughout the United States. I am appearing this morning in place of our executive secretary, Mr. Robert B. Beach, of Chicago, who is unable to be here. Mr. Beach made a statement before the Senate committee in September. It appears on page 72 of the Senate hearings. At that time he suggested an amendment to section 13 of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Of which bill? They are all practically the same; are they not?

Mr. GERRITY. Of the Senate bill, which is practically identical with the House bills which are pending here. Section 13, as you recall, covers Government contracts.

The Senate committee, however, seemed anxious to report the bill without any amendments or modifications. We feel that the suggested amendment of Mr. Beach was not given full consideration and therefore we would like to suggest that your committee give careful consideration to this amendment at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you leave the amendment with us, or do you wish to explain it now?

Mr. GERRITY. I have the amendment here, and I shall leave it with you, together with the statement which Mr. Beach has prepared. (The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF ROBERT B. BEACH, CHICAGO, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BUILDING OWNERS AND MANAGERS

My name is Robert B. Beach, and I appear on behalf of the National Association of Building Owners and Managers, with headquarters in Chicago, of which I am executive secretary.

This association is a federation of local associations of building owners and managers in 50 of the larger cities, with individual members in eighty-odd smaller cities, the total number representing a very high percentage of the office buildings of the country in which governmental agencies are leasing in excess of 35,000,000 square feet of office space. It also represents, in a substantial way, loft buildings and other commercial properties which also lease space for Government use.

Our purpose in appearing is to offer an amendment to the legislation you are now considering, affecting that section which relates to Government contracts. We propose and recommend that leases be excluded from the coverage of the contemplated act by adopting the following amendment:

After section 13a, insert: "*Provided*, That leases of real or personal property shall not be considered as Government contracts."

Representing, as we do, so many office buildings throughout the country, we have come in contact with the requirements of Executive Order 9346, and are well acquainted with the difficulties that have been encountered over the requirements of this order, as applied to Government leases. These difficulties affect both lessor and lessee, and have needlessly complicated lease negotiations essential to the war effort.

With the cooperation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, we have been helpful in overcoming some of these difficulties. But they can best be avoided in the future, without prejudice to the general purpose of the act, by eliminating leases entirely.

In our opinion, a lease is not the kind of contract to which the Executive order was intended to apply. A lease is a conveyance rather than a contract; whether it is, in fact, covered by the existing order, or by the similar language in the proposed act, is a legal question that leads to endless confusion and embarrassment.

The Fair Employment Practice Committee, recognizing the reasonableness of our position, has made various interpretations which have been published in the Federal Register, that tend to modify the requirements under certain conditions. The more practical procedure, and the only proper solution, is to distinguish between "contracts" and "leases" and anticipate a source of misunderstanding and difficulty by removing the cause.

The wording of the section referred to is clearly inapplicable to leases. Take, for example, the reference to subcontracts. In the case of an ordinary office building lease, there is no subcontract in any comparable sense, and the requirement in that particular is entirely irrelevant. This, I might add, has been recognized by the Fair Employment Practice Committee in one of the administrative rulings referred to.

There are other, and even more significant distinctions. A contractor, who is producing for the Government, has one primary obligation, to deliver the goods. A lessor, on the other hand, has this same primary obligation, which, in his case, is to maintain the services and operate the facilities of his property, but, at the same time, has another obligation, which is to satisfy his tenants. The tenant, like the proverbial customer, is always right; and that rule prevails whether you agree with him or not, or share his likes and dislikes.

Thus the landlord's employment problem goes beyond technical qualification for the work to be done, and involves suitability. An elevator operator who might be highly efficient in the operation of his cab, but who was discourteous, or

inattentive, or merely lacked the art of meeting the public, would be unsuited to the job. The manager of a building has to be much more discriminating than a contractor who considers only his product.

So, in addition to maintaining that a lease is not the kind of contract to which the present regulation was intended to apply, we submit that the so-called nondiscrimination clause is not the kind of provision which should be incorporated in a lease. It does not belong.

The function of a lease is to avoid misunderstanding by covering all conditions in express and specific terms. Nondiscrimination is a matter of good faith which cannot be reduced to express and specific terms. For this reason, in itself, the nondiscrimination clause is objectionable. The same objection would apply to writing in the Golden Rule.

A more tangible objection is that one tenant in a building—even though that tenant be an agency of the Federal Government—has no right to impose conditions in its particular lease, which affect other tenants entitled to equal consideration, whose wishes are not consulted. That, you will appreciate, is a very real consideration, involving conditions the building manager must live with every day.

It should be borne in mind that insisting upon the nondiscrimination clause does not mean that the lessor has to accept it. Yet his refusal to accept (in which he is entirely within his rights) may seriously inconvenience the Federal agency which desires accommodations. It is true that under war powers the space can be condemned, but condemnation would not accomplish the purpose that is sought.

It should be made quite clear that the reasons advanced for eliminating leases from the coverage of the proposed act are entirely removed from any criticism or disapproval of the principle which underlies this measure, and is inspired by no desire to impair or lessen its usefulness. The fact is that commercial buildings, depending on availability, come very close to employing workers of every race, color, creed, and national origin. I cannot think of any field of employment where qualification for the job rates higher, and racial prejudice is less pronounced.

The names on the average building pay roll are as unpronounceable as some of those in our fighting forces overseas—and as diversified as to ancestry.

As I have said, the lessor must consider the suitability of each employee for each particular job. If colored girls are employed to run elevators, the building would probably employ only colored girls. Technically that would be discrimination against the white race. Actually there would be no discrimination because of race, but only discrimination on grounds of suitability in the interest of accomplishing a satisfactory result.

The practical objection to the requirement of a nondiscrimination clause in Government leases is that it presents difficulties that are disproportionate to the benefits sought.

The experience of Government leasing agencies is that it has been the occasion of recurring embarrassment and trouble. For entirely valid reasons, which I have sought to make clear, insistence on the provision is regarded with disfavor and sometimes with resentment. Time is wasted and inconvenience suffered; and this is not an occasional discomfiture, but a situation that comes up repeatedly.

These difficulties are fully appreciated by the Fair Employment Practice Committee, with whose officers we have conferred on various occasions in a mutual and fairly successful effort to work out some of these complications.

From the standpoint of the Committee, the lease problem is distinctly a minor issue. Comparatively few employees are involved, and in a field where, to the best of my knowledge, no question of discrimination has been raised.

It is our opinion that adopting the proposed amendment would not impair the effectiveness of the work in which the Committee is engaged, but would, on the contrary, relieve it of a source of considerable annoyance and consequently strengthen its position. This consideration would be equally relevant to the operations of the contemplated Commission. I am quite certain the amendment would be welcomed by the leasing agencies, with whose problems we are also conversant, everyone of which, if they were to speak their minds frankly, would favor the change we propose.

Summarizing, we submit:

1. That the nondiscrimination clause is not an appropriate lease provision.
2. That insisting on its inclusion results in more harm than good.
3. Its elimination will not lessen the effectiveness of the proposed legislation, but will, on the contrary, avoid misunderstandings and confusion.

4. The purpose to be accomplished has already been recognized by the Fair Employment Practices Committee and in part, furthered by the modification of administrative rulings.

5. We believe that our proposal would be favored by Government leasing agencies, without exception, and it would have the unqualified approval of those who control the space these agencies require. It would greatly expedite lease negotiations and, to that extent, contribute to the war effort.

On all counts we submit, the amendment offered would be advantageous and should be included if this legislation is enacted.

Mr. GERRITY. Section 13 of the House bills relate to Government contracts. Section 13 (a), on page 11 of the bill, provides that,

All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all contracts hereafter negotiated or renegotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry, and requiring him to include a similar provision in all subcontracts.

On December 27, 1943, the Fair Employment Practice Committee issued a statement of principles, which appears in the Federal Register of February 10, 1944, page 15922. And among these principles it was stated that a nondiscrimination provision is required in leases, grants of easements, rights-of-way, and so forth, to the same extent that it is required in other contracts.

I think it will be conceded that a Government lease of office space—and there are thousands of them all over the country—is a Government contract. It is unlike the ordinary Government contract, which calls for the furnishing of supplies and which is covered by the Walsh-Healey law. Now, under the Walsh-Healey law, the Comptroller General ruled that a lease of office space was not covered, and also leases of personal property to the Government, such as typewriters and equipment, and things of that kind.

We took the matter up with Chairman Ross, of the committee, in June of this year. Chairman Ross sent a letter to Mr. Beach, dated June 14, 1944, which I would like to have inserted in the record at this point.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT,
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE.

Washington, D. C., June 14, 1944.

Mr. R. B. BEACH,

*National Association of Building Owners and Managers,
Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR MR. BEACH: This is in further reference to the question of the extent to which the provisions of Executive Order 9346 apply to leases entered into by departments and agencies of the Federal Government. As a result of conferences between members of the Committee's staff and Department of Justice officials, agreement was reached that the Committee should clarify its position in regard to the obligation of lessors to include the nondiscrimination clause in subcontracts.

At its meeting on June 13, the committee adopted the following interpretative statements:

1. The nondiscrimination clause is not required in contracts renewed pursuant to an option to renew in accordance with the terms, conditions and provisions contained in the original contract.

2. The requirement that parties to contracts with the Government of the United States (or agencies of said Government) include a nondiscrimination clause "in all subcontracts" is not applicable to lessors of space in buildings except in cases where the Government of the United States (or an agency thereof) is the only tenant involved, or unless a subcontract is entered into only for the purpose of performing an obligation (or obligations) imposed by the Government lease.

Now that these statements have been formalized, they will be included in the Federal Register at an early date. Further consideration is being given to the possibility of an interpretation which would exclude leases entirely as not the kind of contract contemplated by the Executive Order. I will keep you advised of progress made in this connection.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE M. JOHNSON, *Deputy Chairman.*

On June 13, 1944, there appeared a further statement by the committee which has been placed in the Federal Register, stating this principle:

The requirement that parties to contracts with the Government of the United States (or agencies of said Government) include a nondiscrimination clause "in all subcontracts" is not applicable to lessors of space in buildings except in cases where the Government of the United States (or an agency thereof) is the only tenant involved, or unless a subcontract is entered into only for the purpose of performing an obligation (or obligations) imposed by the Government lease.

I might say that our national association had an unfortunate experience in not appearing before your committee in connection with the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938; and since then there have been hundreds of litigated cases involving the status of office building employees under the wage-and-hour law.

The CHAIRMAN. I recall that.

Mr. GERRITY. We feel that had we called your attention to the fact, at that time, that the ownership and management of office buildings is a purely local matter, not involving interstate commerce at all, and only very remotely affecting interstate commerce, you might have specifically provided an exemption in that act.

We would like, therefore, to make certain that in the administration of this law, which we do not oppose on principle, but in order to bring about fair and equitable administration, it would be advisable to amend these bills so as to make it clear that Government leases of office space are not included.

For example, the Government may want to lease a few rooms in a building. The Committee recognizes now that the stipulation to include this clause in subcontracts would not be applicable. We think it would be just as well to eliminate entirely Government leases from the terms of this proposed act, and therefore our proposed amendment is to add, after section 13 (a), a proviso which will read:

Provided, That leases of real or personal property shall not be considered as Government contracts.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be glad to consider that amendment when we take up the bill in executive session.

Mr. GERRITY. I do not believe the Senate committee felt any real objection to the amendment. We also feel that Chairman Ross, of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, is not opposed to this amendment. So that for purposes of clarification, and for workability in the administration of this bill, which will doubtless become a law, we think it advisable that this amendment be inserted.

The CHAIRMAN. I recall that we had quite an amount of difficulty over that in the Fair Labor Standards Act. I think the matter was brought to the Court, was it not?

Mr. GERRITY. Yes, and the Supreme Court, in the *Kirschbaum case*—

The CHAIRMAN. Did not the Supreme Court decide in favor of the act?

Mr. GERRITY. Yes, they held that loft building employees were covered by the act. That has given rise to innumerable cases in the courts. And the matter is still far from settled, although the law has been on the statute books now for almost 8 years.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the only comment you have on the bill?

Mr. GERRITY. That is all, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

Mr. DAY. I got in rather late, Madam Chairman. The point the witness made in regard to these leases and contracts which are not within the purview of interstate commerce I think is pretty well established. I do not think there would be much objection to eliminating that.

Mr. GERRITY. We feel, rather than have any litigation or further controversy about it, it ought to be clearly set forth in the bill.

Mr. DAY. I think it is purely a local matter, this handling of office buildings.

The CHAIRMAN. I really think we will have to consider that matter.

Mr. FISHER. That is the one feature of the bill that you and your organization are interested in, Mr. Gerrity?

Mr. GERRITY. That is the only thing; we just seek clarification of the bill in that respect.

The CHAIRMAN. Other than that, you are in favor of the bill?

Mr. GERRITY. We are not opposed to the bill; I might say that.

Mr. FISHER. You are not taking a stand, one way or the other, on the policy involved in the bill, but you simply ask that it be amended to correct what you think is an inequity.

The CHAIRMAN. I was very interested to hear you say that you believed it would become a law, because we are all hoping that; at least, most of us are.

Mr. DAY. It should have been a law before.

The CHAIRMAN. I think so.

Mr. Gerrity, we thank you very much, and we shall be glad to consider your amendment when we give our final consideration to the bill.

Mr. GERRITY. Thank you a lot, Madam Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is Mrs. Frances Sayler, representing the United Electrical Workers, C. I. O. Mr. McAvoy was to have been here this morning but found it impossible to come, and Mrs. Sayler, who has always had a great interest in progressive labor legislation, has come in his place. Will you proceed, Mrs. Sayler, and tell us what you have in mind about these bills?

STATEMENT OF MRS. FRANCES SAYLER, WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, UNITED ELECTRICAL WORKERS (CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS)

Mrs. SAYLER. Thank you very much. You know, it is always a great pleasure to appear before your committee, Madam Chairman. I do not think there is any committee where one is more assured of a fair hearing than before your committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, very much.

Mrs. SAYLER. I am very happy to have this opportunity to appear before you on behalf of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine

Workers, which represents over 700,000 war workers in such war-production plants as General Electric, Westinghouse, the electrical division of General Motors, Sperry Gyroscope, RCA, and more than a thousand other war plants, to urge enactment of the bills before you to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Our union has devoted every energy and employed every instrument at our command to combat the discrimination and the Fascist influences against which our 200,000 members in the armed services are today giving their lives.

We have recognized that total war requires that all available manpower be put to work and the barrier of discrimination be eliminated wherever it exists. We believe that the Negro people must be afforded equal opportunity to work for this country as well as to fight for this country. We recognize that vigorous efforts against discrimination are necessary not only to turn out the weapons of war that will defeat fascism, but to greatly strengthen the unity of our allies in the making of a durable peace.

In the early stages of the war, our union began a concerted drive for the employment and upgrading of Negro workers in its organized plants. Our union adopted a six-point program, as follows:

1. That we seek to secure, through the Fair Employment Practice Committee, set up by the President, written letters from the employers to the effect that they will employ minority groups, including Negroes. The local unions involved shall receive copies of the above-mentioned letters.

2. In plants where no Negroes are now employed, their employment shall be encouraged in such a manner that upgrading is possible.

3. In plants where Negroes are now employed, the upgrading process shall be encouraged.

4. Departmental meetings shall be held to educate in the direction of infiltration of Negroes into classifications where they have never been employed before.

5. Unions and management shall hold meetings to determine the departments where Negroes can best be employed with the least amount of disruption, the policy to be established by this committee.

6. Periodic meetings shall be held to discuss the progress of the employment of Negroes and their effect on production in general.

We are well aware of the fact that the enemies of the United States made a strong bid for the support of the Negroes. However, this effort on the part of the Axis was not successful because the Government, through the F. E. P. C., the Nation generally, and particularly the unions, were able to demonstrate to the Negro people the sincerity of their firm stand against Hitlerite racial doctrines.

We fought every attempt to force F. E. P. C. to sidetrack its work and to abandon plans for hearings aimed to revise discriminatory practices of various large segments of industry, notably the railroad corporations. We have vigorously supported efforts to secure appropriations for this agency in order that it might carry on its work.

In New York City we were able to convince many employers to use Negro skilled workers for the first time, including such companies as Sperry Gyroscope, where we negotiated an agreement for the admission of Negro women to its training classes for employment. Other companies who hired Negro lathe hands and machine operators include the Chandler Machine Tool Co., Micro Tool Corporation, and

Liquidometer Corporation. For example, two of our locals were able to place more than 50 Negro men and women in 1 week in shops under contract with our union. In one local 20 percent of all persons placed were Negroes.

In Connecticut, at the Colt's Patent Fire Arms Co. we were able to increase tremendously the employment of Negroes, particularly on semi-skilled machine operations. More than a hundred Negroes were employed at another Connecticut company as a result of our action with approximately one-third in skilled operations.

We cooperated with the F. E. P. C. in forcing the elimination of discriminatory hiring clauses at a number of large companies in New Jersey, and furnished many instances of discrimination to the F. E. P. C. which were a basis of action by that agency.

In the city of St. Louis our union led the fight against the policies of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce on the use of Negro labor which in effect accepted the existing discriminatory and Jim Crow practices against Negro workers in industry. There is no question that this Jim Crow policy had its origin in the desire to divide Negro and white labor for the purpose of destroying unions and maintaining sweatshop wages. The chamber of commerce openly advocated complete segregation of Negro workers in separate buildings or separate floors as well as special arrangements for Negro employees to start and quit work at different times, work on special shift, have separate sanitary and locker equipment as well as special recreational facilities, lunch hours, et cetera. The chamber of commerce attempted to imply that the main source of resistance to the employment and integration of Negroes in industry comes from white workers. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

On numerous occasions our general vice president in the St. Louis area, Mr. William Sentner, took issue with these fundamental premises and the recommendations that flowed from them, pointing out that in peacetime such a policy of discrimination is detrimental to the living standards of American workers and that it is a blot on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and the historic struggle devoted to the great American tradition of democracy and equal opportunity. In wartime, especially in this desperate war against Fascists whose own systems are based upon discrimination against minorities and who eagerly seize upon the Negro discrimination in this country as a fifth-column aid, the practice of discrimination comes close to treason.

When we found we were unable to get individual employers in St. Louis to take the first step in the employment of Negroes without first getting an agreement from other manufacturers on a city-wide policy, we made representations to the War Production Board to call a meeting of employers to secure such unified action.

However, the program and policies of the chamber of commerce continued without challenge except by our union in cooperation with the St. Louis Industrial Union Council. We vigorously opposed the establishment by the United States Cartridge Co. of a Jim Crow building for its Negro workers. We repeatedly warned the company and the community that the policy of segregation and Jim Crow would affect production, hamper the war effort and make ineffective the race-relations program designed to further the unity of Negro and white citizens. When the first lay-offs were announced in November

1943 at this plant, the union was unable to enforce its established seniority clause because of the Jim Crow practices of the company. The company still refuses to abide by the seniority clauses in the contract in conformity with the no-discrimination clause of our agreement.

We held numerous conferences on a city-wide basis and participated actively on the mayor's committee on race relations and called upon all unions to negotiate clauses in contracts guaranteeing the training and upgrading of workers regardless of race, creed, or color. We were able to make substantial progress in extending opportunities of employment in individual cases.

In Chicago our union arranged several meetings with representatives of the radio-radar industry, the War Manpower Commission, and the Signal Corps, and were successful in securing the employment of a large number of Negro girls in this critical war industry.

In the city of Baltimore our union vigorously opposed attempts on the part of a company union to establish separate facilities for Negroes employed in the production of vital electronic equipment. Through our efforts in the distribution of leaflets, through the use of the radio, by enlisting the support of other groups in the community, we were able to prevent a serious race riot from breaking out and were able to defeat the efforts of the company union to prolong a strike of white workers against Negro workers at the expense of desperately needed war materials for the front.

Our experience has demonstrated that it is imperative that the Government protect and strengthen the work of the F. E. P. C. by passing legislation now to place it on a permanent basis. This becomes increasingly important during the reconversion period when there will be attempts at wholesale discharging and downgrading of Negroes and other minorities who have made such a substantial contribution to victory over the Axis. There is no question but that the elimination of discrimination in employment is as important to the country's well-being in peacetime as it has been in time of war. It is up to the Government to rid industry once and for all of the idea of using Negro labor to break unions and to lower wages. It is up to the Government to guarantee the American principles of equality of job opportunity dictated by the needs of a peace that must extend this principle to the underprivileged of the world.

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Welch, any questions?

Mr. WELCH. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Day, any questions?

Mr. DAY. No; I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Fisher, any questions?

Mr. FISHER. Mrs. Sayler, I would say that I enjoyed listening to your interesting discussion that you have read showing what your organization is doing, or is trying to do, in defending its record during the wartime with relation to Negroes.

I had hoped, however, that you would discuss this bill that we are considering. You did not discuss that. There are about 14 pages of the bill, much of it being very controversial.

However, your discussion, as I understand it, had to do with the activities of your union during wartime, showing that it has been able to solve many problems, which probably is a good argument against

the bill because it shows that the F. E. P. C. is not essential in dealing with such problems.

Mrs. SAYLER. I do not want to belittle the efforts of our union one bit, but I do want to say that without the F. E. P. C. our union would not have been able to accomplish what it did. I wanted to show that even despite our vigorous efforts to fight this thing out through the process of collective bargaining during wartime, we were still unsuccessful in making a very large dent in large communities like St. Louis and other isolated communities, and I think it demonstrates that despite our overwhelming efforts to eliminate discrimination, we were unable to do it to the extent that it will have to be done at the conclusion of the war and during peacetime.

I would like to submit a statement, a resolution passed by our international union at its tenth annual convention, if I may, in support of this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. We will put it in the record at this point.

(The resolution is as follows:)

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE

Whereas discrimination in employment against any person because of race, color, sex, or religion is opposed to the principles underlying American democracy and is a manifestation of the Fascist-Nazi spirit which seeks to enslave the world, and

Whereas the Fair Employment Practice Committee has been established by Executive order of the President to combat and destroy all efforts at such discrimination and to guarantee to all persons the right to employment regardless of race, color, sex, or religion, and

Whereas recently a subcommittee of the United States Senate, after holding public hearings, has voted to recommend favorably the Chavez bill calling for the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, and

Whereas a similar companion bill, known as the Dawson, Scanlon, LaFollette bill has also been introduced into the House of Representatives, therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention go on record as endorsing the work of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, and be it further

Resolved, That the Fair Employment Practice Committee be established as a permanent Government bureau for the purpose of preventing discrimination in employment because of race, color, sex, or religion, and be it further

Resolved, That we support the Chavez bill and the Dawson, Scanlon, LaFollette bill and urge our Senators and Representatives to recognize by law the established principles underlying our democracy, and be it finally

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the press and every Member of the House and Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you care to make any comment?

Mrs. SAYLER. I want to say that we are wholeheartedly in support of the general principles of the bill. I am thoroughly familiar with the procedures set up to abolish the discrimination that is prohibited, and I think the procedures provide ample investigation and hearing and due process to guarantee that the problem will be met fairly under the American judicial system.

Mr. FISHER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Sayler, you believe, do you not, that if it had not been for this Executive order it would have been quite impossible to have supplied the armies with all the materials that were so necessary?

Mrs. SAYLER. Absolutely. I do not think there is any question about it.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think that it has helped to break down discrimination and that it has really helped in the war effort; is that true?

Mrs. SAYLER. I do not think there is any question about it. We would never have been able to meet the production records that we have met without the employment of Negroes.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you.

Mrs. SAYLER. And also other minority groups.

Mr. KELLEY. I think Mrs. Sayler is to be complimented on her interesting and informative statement that she has given us.

I wonder if her organization has encountered any discrimination against other minority groups than the Negroes.

Mrs. SAYLER. Yes. We have had to fight to eliminate discriminatory hiring clauses against Jews and other religious groups.

We also had quite a bit of difficulty in the early period of the war with regard to aliens, though I think we were successful in clearing up most of those cases as soon as their loyalty was demonstrated without question.

There was some confusion because of fear that without going into the individual case there might be some disloyalty on the part of aliens, per se. I think that has been pretty largely cleared up.

Mr. KELLEY. You said something about religious groups. What religious groups?

Mrs. SAYLER. Well, I think that we have discriminatory hiring clauses against Jews. Also, out in Ohio there was some discrimination against certain sects that I recall, early in the war. I do not know of any other specific examples.

Mr. DAY. Did you run into any of this Jehovah stuff?

Mrs. SAYLER. We had a few cases of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

Mrs. Sayler, you believe that unless the law is made permanent through legislation there will be a rather chaotic condition when the soldiers return who have been fighting together in the war, do you not?

Mrs. SAYLER. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And you think there will be a great deal of trouble in this country unless we do something about making F. E. P. C. permanent?

Mrs. SAYLER. Unless there is a clear statement of policy by the Government with clear enforcement powers to make the companies live up to that statement of policy by the Government, I think that there is going to be a great temptation to try to break unions by attempting to divide Negro workers from white workers during the reconversion period.

Mr. DAY. Do you know, as a matter of fact, what percentage of Negro workers are members of the C. I. O. as compared with the A. F. L.? Did you ever look into that?

Mrs. SAYLER. I am afraid that I do not know those figures. I am not sure that they are available because I do not know whether we keep separate membership records for Negroes and whites. I know that we do not in our union.

Mr. DAY. You did not notice any difference, did you, as far as discrimination is concerned, between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L.?

Mrs. SAYLER. I am familiar with some differences in the policy between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. with respect to the policy of carrying out the policy of no discrimination against Negroes.

Mr. DAY. Will you outline that briefly?

Mrs. SAYLER. Well, I do not think there is any question where the C. I. O. stands. It has carried on a vigorous campaign, as has our own union, for the elimination of discrimination against Negroes. I am familiar with the fact that there have been statements of policy to that effect by the A. F. of L., but in certain cases they have not seen fit to take steps to enforce that policy.

Mr. DAY. Can you mention any one such instance?

Mrs. SAYLER. Well, we have had some trouble with one large group in the A. F. of L., the machinists' union, which is vigorously opposing the employment of Negroes in certain plants.

Mr. DAY. In what locality?

Mrs. SAYLER. Baltimore.

Mr. DAY. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mrs. Sayler.

Unless there are other witnesses who wish to be heard, the hearing will stand concluded.

(Whereupon, at 11:15 a. m., the hearing adjourned.)

(The following communications were received by the committee with the request that they be included in the printed record of the hearings:)

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS, INC.,
New York, July 10, 1944.

Hon. MARY T. NORTON,
Chairman, The House Labor Committee,
House of Representatives Building, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MRS. NORTON: I understand that hearings on the Dawson-Seaton bill, H. R. 3986, will be resumed about the 1st of August. I would like the following resolution passed by the board of directors and the Conference of the National Federation of Settlements at Cleveland, May 18-21, 1944, entered in the hearings record which is being printed.

"The industrial and employment problems of minorities have been safeguarded through the machinery set up by the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee. We are aware of its limitations and functional weaknesses. We firmly believe that it should be strengthened and made permanent through legislative action for safeguarding the employment problems of minorities. It has been valuable during the period of industrial and military mobilization for war. Its need is made urgent during the period of demobilization and reconversion to peacetime operations and, more than that, for the tremendously strained period which inevitably will follow."

Very sincerely yours,

LILLIE M. PECK, *Secretary*.

STATEMENT OF ARNOLD ARONSON, CHAIRMAN, DIVISION OF EMPLOYMENT,
CHICAGO COUNCIL AGAINST RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION

Chicago is one of the great industrial centers of our nation. It is often referred to as "hog butcher to the world"; it is the mail order center of the world; it is one of the greatest railway centers in the world, and it is one of our chief war production centers. I have no desire to appear as an agent of the Chicago Chamber of Commerce, and I cite these facts simply because the problem of employment discrimination is, I believe, not a minority groups problem, or a problem on the social plane, but rather a problem in industrial relationships. Our experience and sentiments in Chicago, therefore, is probably somewhat similar to the experience and sentiments of most industrial centers, and it is these areas that will be most directly and immediately affected by post-war economic dislocation and industrial strife unless adequate safeguards, including the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission, are provided for by Congress.

Chicago, like most industrial centers, and perhaps even more so, is a melting pot. In terms of national stock, it combines a German city larger than Bremen,

an Italian city larger than Venice, a Polish city nearly half the size of Warsaw, a Russian city larger than Stalingrad, and an Irish city nearly twice the size of Cork. In addition, Chicago is the second largest Negro city in the world, the third largest Bohemian city in the world, the third largest Norwegian city in the world, and the fourth largest Swedish city in the world. It contains the largest Lithuanian, Croatian, and Greek settlements in the United States, the second largest Jewish settlement, it has upward of 30,000 Mexicans, and a populous Chinatown.

The Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, which I have the privilege of representing, is a federation of thirty-odd organizations whose membership is drawn from practically all of these diverse groups. The organizations affiliated with the council include church bodies and trade-unions, civic groups, and social agencies. Among our officers are labor leaders and the head of a large brokerage firm, a college president, and a municipal court judge. We have lawyers, educators and social workers, Jew and gentile, white, Negro, Mexican, and Japanese-American. And we have representation from the one group which truthfully can claim to be full-blooded Americans, a group which, nevertheless, has itself felt the sting of employment discrimination, the American Indian. I mention all this in order to emphasize that our appeal for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission, adequately staffed, adequately financed, and with adequate powers of enforcement, does not stem merely from the minorities which are discriminated against, but is the expression of a broad cross-section of public opinion in Chicago which believes that since discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin corrodes democracy as a whole, it must be fought by democracy as a whole.

As further evidence of the widespread support which the principle of non-discrimination enjoys in Chicago, you may be interested to learn that on June 25, the third anniversary of the Executive order which gave birth to the Fair Employment Practice Committee, the mayor issued an official proclamation setting aside that date as Fair Employment Practice Day.

PROCLAMATION

Whereas, on June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt issued the now historic Executive Order No. 8802, declaring it to be the policy of the United States that "there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin;" and

Whereas the highly critical demands of our country's war economy, combined with the accomplishments of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice and various other organizations have resulted in the employment of thousands of workers in jobs which previously had been closed to them; and

Whereas this additional employment had greatly expedited and increased the production of a wide variety of materials urgently needed for the success of our country's war effort; and

Whereas, because the war industries of today are the peace industries of tomorrow, it is our common task to lay the foundation for the permanent integration of minority groups to assure that the gains now being achieved will not be limited "for the duration;" Now, therefore,

I, Edward J. Kelly, mayor of the city of Chicago, do hereby designate Sunday, June 25, 1944, as Fair Employment Practice Day in Chicago in order that management, labor, and all other segments of our population shall be stimulated to establish in our factories and places of business the democratic principle of equality of opportunity for which our fighting men of all races and creeds are at this time bravely sacrificing their lives.

Dated at Chicago this 14th day of June A. D. 1944.

EDWARD J. KELLY,
Mayor (Chicago).

That proclamation was reprinted in the press, it was broadcast on the radio, and it was read and discussed from pulpits of all denominations. The principles and objectives expressed in that proclamation, which are the principles and objectives of the bill under consideration, were publicly endorsed by leaders of public opinion from all walks of life including the archbishop of Chicago, the president of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, the president of the Chicago Rabbinical Association, the official spokesman for the Chicago Industrial Union Council and the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the heads of two of our largest industrial establishments. I should like to submit them for the record.

Samuel A. Stritch, archbishop of Chicago:

"Our religious teaching demands the recognition of the rights of all men, and charity urges us to exert ourselves particularly in securing the enjoyment of their rights for those who in the past have been unfairly discriminated against in the matter of employment or the enjoyment of social advantages."

Rabbi Benjamin Birnbaum, president of the Rabbinical Association of Chicago:

"The fascist countries have indicted democracy as a decadent philosophy that is slow moving and ineffective. It is the task of democratic nations to accept this challenge by making democracy a functioning rather than a theoretical principle. I therefore greet with satisfaction the celebration of Fair Employment Day in Chicago. When labor and business management will unite to disavow discrimination in the employment of workers because of race, creed, color, or national origin, we will have reasonable assurance that the present war, which we are now fighting for this very principle, will attain for us a great victory and an abiding peace."

Dr. Harrison Ray Anderson, president of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago: "A recent investigation among American minorities revealed that the first desire was for fair employment. Many of our racial tensions in America can be solved by giving men and women the right to make an honest living."

Meyer Kestnbaum, president of Hart Schaffner & Marx: "To believe in democracy is to believe in the right of every individual to work in accordance with his ability, without regard to race, creed, or color. As one who believes in democracy, I am heartily in sympathy with the objectives and the program of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee."

Fowler McCormick, president of International Harvester Co.: "The International Harvester Co. has employed for many years men and women of different races and creeds. We have felt that this was our responsibility as an American institution, and at present, of course, of primary importance in winning the war. The company expects to continue this policy in the years of peace as far as it is within its power to do so."

Albert Towers, president of the Chicago Industrial Union Council of Congress of Industrial Organizations: "The Congress of Industrial Organizations as a peoples' movement, stands foresquare for equality of opportunity regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin. Discrimination in employment is a characteristic of our Fascist enemy, and has no place in American life. The Congress of Industrial Organizations heartily endorses the Fair Employment Practice Committee and mayor's proclamation of Fair Employment Day, and pledges its continued and unceasing efforts to secure for every man and woman the right to work to the full measure of his ability."

Anton Johannsen, vice president of the Chicago Federation of Labor: "The Chicago Federation of Labor heartily endorses the objectives of Fair Employment Day and of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice. Substantial progress has been made toward eliminating racial and religious discrimination, but there still remains the obligation to expand the good work so that the principle of industrial equality for all men will be firmly established."

Today in Chicago, as in most sections of the country, Mexicans, Jews, Negroes, and members of other minorities are experiencing little difficulty in securing employment. This is not to imply that discrimination has been eliminated. On the contrary, there is all too little evidence of basic changes in the preconceived prejudices and stereotyped generalizations about minority groups. Resistance persists in many industries; in many others the barriers have been removed from the hiring front, only to be resurrected at the scene of upgrading and training. Today's employment is largely the product of expediency. To meet the ever mounting need for manpower, employers have had to forego many of the idiosyncrasies which governed their peacetime personnel standards. Just as the barriers against women, the aged, and the inexperienced have been gradually, albeit grudgingly, lowered, so too, the artificial barriers imposed by racial and religious restrictions are luxuries which now can ill be afforded.

Early this year, a subcommittee of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations conducted a survey on Negro employment in the Chicago area. The chairman of that subcommittee was James S. Knowlson, president of the Stewart Warner Corporation, and the rest of the committee was composed of the presidents and personnel managers of the following 16 firms: Acme Steel Co., Armour & Co., Chicago Bridge & Iron Co., Chicago Surface Lines, Chicago Civil Service Commission, James B. Clow & Sons, International Harvester Co., Marsh & McLennan Insurance Co., Pullman Co., Pullman-Standard Car Manufacturing Co., Shure Bros., Stewart Warner Corporation, Studebaker Corporation of America, Swift & Co., Western Electric Co., and Wilson & Co., Inc.

The committee canvassed 94 firms employing over half a million workers, about one-tenth of whom were Negroes. I should like to quote some of the significant data from that survey:

1. Firms employing Negroes for many years say they began the practice because of conditions of the labor market (particularly the labor shortage during the First World War); or because they simply followed the developing community pattern. Firms with more recent experience reported that they began hiring Negroes because of the requirements of Government contracts; community pressure; and efforts to mobilize for total war.

2. If the proper ground work is laid, it is the general experience in this area that a nonsegregated pattern can be followed in locker room, lunch room, toilet facilities, and work relationships.

3. With proper selection and training, production showed no appreciable difference between Negro and white workers.

To those who say that minority groups cannot be successfully integrated into industry, therefore, this study says, it has been done—and it works. We need only to compare the present situation with that of 2 or 3 years ago to recognize that given the economic necessity and the will, we can solve this problem of employment discrimination.

In August 1942 only 36 percent of the job orders received by the employment division of the Chicago Welfare Administration were open to Negro applicants; in January of this year 61 percent of such orders were open to these applicants. Surveys conducted among the commercial employment agencies in our city about 2 years ago revealed that many of these agencies refused even to register Negro, Mexican, or Jewish applicants, while many more accepted their registrations only to place them immediately in the inactive file. A study of job orders restricted against Jews in five representative agencies revealed that the smallest proportion of discriminatory orders in any of the agencies was 29 percent while in one agency fully 80 percent of the orders were barred to Jewish applicants. In July of 1942, 4.8 percent of those employed in Chicago's war industries were nonwhite. By July of 1943 that figure had risen to 8 percent and in July of this year over 10 percent of those engaged in war work were nonwhite. Yes, quantitatively at least, we have made considerable progress, but much more remains to be done.

If we analyze the reasons for this progress, I think that we may perhaps better be enabled to chart the direction we must follow if the gains we have achieved are to be maintained and extended into the post-war period. I think we would probably all agree that the major impetus for these gains has derived from the acuteness of the manpower shortage. And from this observation we can, it seems to me, safely conclude that the future status of minorities and their integration into the industrial fabric of our Nation will be determined first and foremost by the degree to which we succeed in maintaining full employment after the war.

Although full employment will thus set the condition for the elimination of discrimination, it will not of itself solve the problem. The survey to which I have already referred indicated that one of the prime reasons for the introduction of Negro workers was the requirements of government contracts. For these achievements no small credit is due the present Fair Employment Practice Committee. I recall the public hearings conducted by the Fair Employment Practice Committee in Chicago in January of 1942. I recall particularly a case involving one of our largest manufacturers of airplane engines. The company was at that time in the process of getting into production, and in order to meet its needs for skilled technicians, special courses were introduced at the Illinois Institute of Technology. Nine hundred and eight men of all races and creeds responded to the appeals that were made for students. Many of those men gave up jobs since the training was intensive and demanded full time. And at the conclusion of these courses, courses which were paid for by the United States government at a cost of about \$200 per man, this is what happened. The students were asked to fill out application forms on which inquiry was made as to their race and religion. Of the five Negro students, none was hired, despite the fact that a Negro led the entire class and was subsequently employed as an instructor by the Illinois Institute of Technology. Only 16.8 percent of the Jewish students were accepted for employment, although many of them too, ranked high in the class, whereas 77.5 percent of the white Gentiles were accepted by the company. All of this occurred despite the proved qualifications of most of the students and in spite of the company's desperate need for thousands of workers. Today, as a result of those hearings and the subsequent directives issued by the Fair Employment Practice Committee, upwards of 10 percent of the employees of that company are Negro,

and members of all minorities are successfully working together to produce the tools of victory.

There were other firms found guilty of discrimination in those hearings, firms which despite a critical need for manpower, for one reason or another refused to employ members of certain minority groups. Today, as the result of Government intervention they, too, have found that skin color or form of divine worship is no criterion of a man's ability. Many of the firms which were most resistant have issued statements expressing their satisfaction with the production record and working habits of those same groups whose hiring they had previously so bitterly contested. During the past 11 months, the Chicago office of the Fair Employment Practice Committee has satisfactorily adjusted 97 such cases, involving many thousands of workers. It seems to me that no better demonstration need be made of the need and the efficacy of government action to solve this problem than the fact that the present Fair Employment Practice Committee, with its inadequate resources, with an annual budget that is less than the hourly budget of some Government agencies, and with the absence of any enforcement power was able through persuasion alone to compile such an impressive record.

Any attempt to project into the future involves speculation. Enough evidence has been accumulated, however, to make it abundantly clear that the problem of demobilization and reconversion present a challenge which the Special Senate Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning in its report of June 12, 1944, termed "almost as grave as the challenge of the war." We are faced with the prospects of 10,000,000 servicemen, and upward of 20,000,000 displaced war workers who will be seeking jobs. The minorities have achieved their greatest gains in precisely those industries, such as shipbuilding and aircraft manufacturing, where employment will be most drastically curtailed. Past discrimination has operated to give minorities the least amount of protection under seniority rules. Having been the last to be hired, through no fault of their own, they will be the first to be fired. Are we then to leave the solution of these problems to chance? Of all the alternative approaches to a serious situation this is the one approach that requires absolutely no guts. It is the one that inevitably fails. Burying one's head in the sand leaves a large part of the anatomy exposed to a swift kick.

In our complex industrial society, efficiency does not come about automatically or easily, in any field. Traffic has to be carefully regulated if we are to avoid hopeless tangles. Health has to be protected by sanitary codes. Streets and highways have to be wisely planned and systematically maintained. It is high time that we realized that it is as important to plan for human relations as for material needs.

George Santayana once said, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." I am not an alarmist. It would be well, however, for us to remember that in the years immediately following the last war, riots occurred throughout the country as whites competed with Negroes for a declining number of jobs. Whether we be members of majority or minority groups, it would be well for us to remember, too, that race hatred fanned in the crucible of unemployment constituted the ladder upon which Hitler climbed to power in Germany. When children are locked up for any length of time with nothing to do, they are quite likely to start pulling the house down. When grown men and women, solely because of their race or creed, are long deprived of useful work for their hands and minds, they are just as likely, if there are enough of them, to start pulling down the social order in which they live.

Today we are united in a common cause, the liberation of humanity and the survival of democracy. What are we to say to the million Negroes now in the armed forces, to the thousands of Mexicans and Filipinos captured in the heroic defense of Corregidor, to the company of Japanese Americans recently cited for bravery by General Clark? What are we to say to the countless others who are giving their lives not as Jews, Catholics, Poles, or Italians, but as fellow Americans? Are we to say, "You are good enough to fight and die for our cause, but your skin color, or nose angle, or foreign accent says you are not good enough for an equal chance at a job when that cause is won"? Are we to say, "You have secured economic freedom for the peoples of the world, but it is to be denied you here at home"?

We cannot thus isolate ourselves from our own moral ideas. We cannot afford to tolerate in the workshops of America the selfsame practices which we denounce in our enemies. Discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin is either right or wrong. If it is right, it should be justified. If it is wrong, we should have the courage to say so and we should take immediate

steps to eliminate it. The organization which I represent stands firmly behind the proposition that employment discrimination is wrong, that it is unjust, inexpedient, and un-American. We believe that the elimination of such discrimination is a democratic imperative, and to that end we urge the speedy establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission.

FARMERS EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION,

Denver, Colo., November 15, 1944.

The Honorable MARY T. NORTON,

Chairman, Labor Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN NORTON: The National Farmers Union favors early passage of H. R. 3986, H. R. 4004, or H. R. 4005, the bills that would establish permanently the Fair Employment Practice Committee. For this reason we have not thought it wise to take up the committee's time with an appearance at the hearings, or unduly to burden the record.

We should appreciate it, however, if you would let this letter appear in the record of the testimony during the hearings, so that there may be further indication of our endorsement.

It is our feeling that maintenance of a Fair Employment Practice Committee and the principles of economic fair play for which it stands is extremely important. Few governmental institutions have ever been so rewarding for the expenditure of so little money. We need only to call your attention to the very successful handling of the Philadelphia transit situation as an example of the remarkable results this agency has obtained.

We believe that it has worked with great tact and ability at the performance of a very difficult job, and that it has demonstrated conclusively that it is a valuable part of the administrative system.

But its value goes far beyond that of immediate wartime operation or of application to a limited number of crises. The pervasive influence of such an agency is very great. It is not limited to any single minority group but interests itself in the assurance of equal job opportunity for any group that is discriminated against.

We sincerely hope that you will speed action on the legislation and that, if it proves impossible to obtain adoption in this Congress, you will press for it early in the first session of the new Congress.

Sincerely,

RUSSELL SMITH, *Legislative Secretary.*

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., *November 20, 1944.*

HON. MARY T. NORTON,

Chairman, Committee on Labor,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MRS. NORTON: Many of us are grateful to you and your Committee for your efforts to secure first-hand information about discrimination in employment. I had planned to be present at the hearings on H. R. 3986, H. R. 4004, and H. R. 405 but arrived too late. However, I have read much of the testimony and have a feeling that the Fair Employment Practice Committee will become a permanent commission.

Discrimination in employment is a disease that was permitted to be practiced but because of its menace to the welfare of every citizen in our Nation we are trying now to eliminate this disease. I am particularly concerned with possible discrimination against the returning veteran who may seek employment, as well as discrimination which has been practiced against the nonwhites and against religious groups. The returning veteran will again seek his place in our community and should receive every opportunity to secure employment. Up to this particular time, we know that veterans are being given the chance to return to work but as more of them return from the wars they may find it more difficult to secure employment because of those who are now in the plants and who will continue to remain employed after the war.

Discrimination is no longer a problem of the nonwhites or those of certain religious faiths. It has become a problem of the entire nation and the responsibility to correct this inequality rests with the members of our government. The creation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee was forward looking legislation and one of the first steps taken to break down the barriers that have kept our country divided.

Discrimination is very costly to all the citizens of our Nation for we can find pockmarked throughout this Nation slum areas where those discriminated against are forced to live. These are the same people who are forced to take lower wages to receive gainful employment yet they too want to eat and sleep, bring up a family, and have some of the good things of life. Discrimination which forces unemployment upon any group of peoples very soon forces such persons to seek relief either from the community he lives in or the State or the Federal Government. Discrimination which causes ill health and which permits slum areas to continue becomes an economic factor in the life of our Nation since these people lack a purchasing power and thereby reduce the production of goods by those employed and may become so far reaching as to be the beginning of a depression.

Where labor has organized or become unionized, it has within itself created the instrument in which to battle against discrimination. But where small business or those employing one or a few persons or the white-collar jobholder and many others who are not organized, they too suffer because of discrimination and I believe that the Fair Employment Practice Committee can, in a great measure, overcome the hates of employer against employee because of color or creed. With post-war problems staring us in the face and with the members of our Government earnestly and sincerely meeting the problems as they come up, we have the feeling that you and your committee will submit a favorable report for the continuation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

I am affiliated with many organizations in Massachusetts that support the continuation of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, but I am submitting this letter to you as the legislative chairman of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post 70, Springfield, Mass. We have, on previous occasions, supported the appropriation of funds for the Fair Employment Practice Committee and we feel, as I have expressed in this letter, that it is necessary legislation to help cure some of the ills within our own Nation. We know your committee has done an excellent job and we are certain that both the members of the House and the Senate will accept your report and pass it.

Very sincerely yours,

JULIUS MELTZER,

Legislative Chairman, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Post 70.

STATEMENT OF MR. CLAUDE A. BENJAMIN, CHAIRMAN, COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION IN WAR INDUSTRIES

I should like, first, to express my appreciation for the privilege of offering this statement on behalf of the Dawson-Seanon-LaFollette bills to establish a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. I represent the Coordinating Committee of Jewish Organizations Dealing With Employment Discrimination in War Industries. As indicated by its name, the Coordinating Committee is an organization of organizations. Affiliated with us are such well known national Jewish agencies as the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish War Veterans, the Jewish Welfare Board, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Refugee Service, and the Synagogue Council of America. Our total constituency numbers 71 organizations in 46 communities from every section of the country. The Coordinating Committee came into being 3 years ago because of the concern of all of these agencies with the very problem under consideration—the problem of discrimination in employment.

Although the degree and manifestations of discrimination varied from one community to another, the problem was essentially the same. Help-wanted advertisements in newspapers and trade publications or only specified that certain jobs were restricted against Jews. Employment agencies, public and private alike, testified that the placement of Jewish applicants was rendered extremely difficult, and in some cases impossible, because of the high proportion of restrictive job orders. Many of these agencies refused even to register Jewish applicants. Many more accepted their registrations, only to place them immediately in the inactive file. Employment application forms almost invariably inquired into the applicant's religion, descent, or lineage, and not infrequently similar questions were asked about the applicant's parents. These were but some of the more overt methods by which the barriers of prejudice were invoked to deny equality of opportunity. For every such instance, however, there were many many more

in which discrimination was more subtly but no less definitely practiced. If I have referred exclusively to discriminations against Jews it is only because I have dealt most closely with that aspect of the problem. Similar or identical experiences, however, were shared by millions of other Americans whose skin color, mode of worship, or national origin were sufficient to disqualify them from the opportunity of securing employment in accordance with their ability.

Discrimination, unfortunately, is not an Axis monopoly. Every day in the face of the most critical manpower shortage, in the face of a war for freedom, countless Americans, solely because of their race, color, creed, or national origin, are still being denied the opportunity of contributing their full skill toward producing the tools of victory. Nevertheless, we cannot fail to recognize the substantial gains that have been made—gains that have given the lie to the stereotyped generalizations about racial characteristics, gains that have amply demonstrated that in the workshops as well as on the battlefield a man's worth cannot be measured by his pigmentation, accent, or form of divine worship.

Much of the credit for these gains rests with the present Fair Employment Practice Committee. Despite the attacks to which it has been subjected since its inception, despite the niggardliness of its budget and the insufficiency of its staff, despite the complete lack of enforcement powers, the Fair Employment Practice Committee has confounded its critics and proved that, given the opportunity, Jew and Gentile, black, brown, white, and yellow can and will work together harmoniously and efficiently. We cannot, we must not, permit this tested and proved instrument of democracy to become a war casualty.

Today as we look forward hopefully to a complete and speedy military victory, our minds are focused on the twin objectives of a lasting peace and a useful job for all who wish to work. These twin objectives are but opposite sides of the same coin—for peace depends on democracy; and democracy, like peace, is indivisible. We pride ourselves on having learned the lessons of the past decade and proclaim that isolationism is out-moded—dead; that this is one world; that we must concern ourselves with the problems of the rest of the world if we are to secure the peace. Can we then in the face of this logic afford to be isolationist in our domestic thinking? We must come to a clear realization that discrimination at home, no less than armed aggression abroad, threatens our own freedom and security. We cannot rest content no matter how high our general standard of giving may be if some fraction of our people—be it one-third, one-fifth, or one-tenth—is denied the opportunity of making a living and making a life.

Equal justice for all was one of the ideals upon which this Nation was founded. In large measure we have achieved legal and political justice. We have a long way to go, however, to achieve economic justice without which, in an age of limitless productive capacity, other forms of justice become increasingly hollow. In our complex industrial civilization freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. In the words of President Roosevelt, "Necessitous men are not free men. * * * People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made."

The Civil War gave rise to the Know Nothings. The American Protective Association was spawned of the American-Spanish War, and the Ku Klux Klan was revived in the aftermath of World War I. The first two of these groups directed their fury against the Catholics. The Klan combined hatred of Catholics, Negroes, and Jews, and each of these groups gained more adherents than did its predecessor. If after this war we fail to hold out the hope of equal opportunity to all, we shall set the stage for some demagogue to hold out the hope of special privilege to each. In that direction lies neither peace nor democracy.

The problem of demobilization and reconversion presents a challenge as grave as the challenge of the war itself. It is clear that the demobilization of our military machine will bring about at least a temporary reduction in the demands of industry for manpower. It is equally clear that members of minority groups will be most adversely affected because their gains have been made precisely in those industries which are likely to be most drastically curtailed and because they possess the least amount of protection under seniority rules. What the reconversion to peace and the ensuing civilian demands will mean in the post-war industrial picture is the subject of speculation and study by this Congress. But of one thing we must be certain. Namely, that our mustering out of men and industry shall not bring about a demobilization of the opportunity for any segment of our citizenship to earn a fair and decent living.

The present Fair Employment Practice Committee, as you know, is limited in its jurisdiction to war industries. As the rate of war-contract cancellations and production cut-backs grows, an increasing number of employers will no longer

be responsible to the present Fair Employment Practice Committee for unfair employment practices. To meet the continual narrowing of the present Fair Employment Practice Committee's coverage, it is necessary to pass without delay the legislation now being considered by the House Committee on Labor. Such legislation, moreover, must in our opinion, provide enforcement powers and not a mere continuance of the present Fair Employment Practice Committee. In the post-war period, when Federal Government contracts are likely to be reduced to a minimum, when wartime shortages of labor are not likely to continue, a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee without enforcement powers is bound to be virtually ineffective.

In the recent election the Presidential candidates of both parties called for the establishment of a permanent Federal Fair Employment Practice Commission. In so doing they reflected the sentiments of the great majority of Americans who believe that if a man is deemed capable of carrying our flag in battle, capable of protecting us from our common enemies from without, capable of producing essential goods in time of war, then he and others like him are entitled by right and moral justice to an equal opportunity in peace to advance to the full measure of his ability. Tomorrow's democracy must discriminate against discrimination. To that end the organization which I represent urges the speedy enactment of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission as established by H. R. 3986, H. R. 4004, and H. R. 4005.

STATEMENT OF THE UNITED CANNERY, AGRICULTURAL, PACKING AND ALLIED WORKERS OF AMERICA (CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS)

The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America has faced from its inception the problem of achieving economic rights for the varied minority groups which are represented in our union and generally in the industries in which we are organizing.

In agriculture, in the canning, tobacco, and fresh fruit and vegetable packing industries, and in the miscellaneous food and fiber processing industries Spanish-American, Negro, Filipino, Chinese, and Indian workers have historically been employed in large numbers. Wages in these industries are among the lowest in the country and it can fairly be said that discrimination against minority groups has been a major cause of low wages. The resulting disadvantaged economic status of all the workers in these industries has produced social, health, and other problems of outstanding proportions.

During the war many of these groups have been able for the first time to achieve a higher degree of economic equality. Workers from minority groups have been able to put into effect their desire to contribute to the war effort. The Fair Employment Practice Committee has guaranteed this basic civil right of equal opportunity in the interest of the prosecution of the war. The improved conditions resulting from this will in themselves give rise to problems after the war which must be dealt with by a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission. Unless such a Government agency is established the actual progress which has been made will result in an intensification of the problem and will lead to disruption of production and strife which will have no means of peaceful resolution.

The problem has two aspects. On the one hand, entire industries are in the depressed wage class because of the high proportion of workers from minority groups. On the other hand, there are within these industries discriminatory wage and hiring practices which have placed these workers at a further disadvantage.

The following examples illustrate the first point.

The story of California agriculture is well known. The successive employment of minority groups—Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Mexican—played off against each other resulted in starvation wages. The economic situation bred health and social problems which assumed national significance and which prepared the way for the major catastrophe which took place within the influx of "Okies" and "Arkies" into California and the Southwest during the 1930's. The discriminatory policies whose purpose was to depress wages ended by creating community problems which threatened the entire population of the agricultural areas involved.

The tobacco processing industry in the South offers an example of an industry employing a high percentage of Negro workers which is characterized by wages among the lowest paid in manufacturing industries. Low wages in the tobacco industry make a substantial contribution to the backwardness of the southern economy.

The second problem can be illustrated by situations which have developed with respect to Negro and Spanish-American workers employed in our industries.

EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO WORKERS IN FOOD AND TOBACCO INDUSTRIES

In many plants in our industries Negro people have been hired during the war for the first time and as a result have made a major contribution to the remarkable war production record of the United States. Companies hesitant to start hiring Negro people have been encouraged to do so because of President Roosevelt's order advocating no discrimination, and because Fair Employment Practice Committee stands ready to enforce the policy. In all cases, existence of a Federal agency after the war is essential in retaining and extending the policy of no race discrimination and to avoid outbreak of disputes over the race question.

Several specific situations which illustrate these points are outlined below:

At the Campbell Soup plant in Camden, N. J., which employs about 70 percent women, no Negro women were employed until November 1942. Today, out of a total of some 8,000 workers there, there are some 3,000 Negro women and the proportion of Negro men has increased. In fact, about 50 percent of the Campbell Soup workers in this plant, famous for its war production record for which it has received the A award, are Negro.

The Negro people who have played such a key role in this war were not hired as a matter of course. The union engaged in long negotiations with management prior to adoption of the new hiring policy in 1942, and in fact, used the existence of the Fair Employment Practices Committee as the final argument which convinced management.

Race relations at the plant now are entirely smooth, and for this large credit must be given to the Fair Employment Practice Committee. The mere existence of Fair Employment Practice Committee bolstered the union program for hiring of Negroes strategically, even though it did not have to take direct action.

What will be the situation after the war? At this time a Fair Employment Practice Committee ready to arbitrate disputes which may arise and to insist on continuation of no discrimination will be essential.

It is quite possible that production will be maintained at a high level at Campbell Soup, but lay-offs may well occur in transition periods and between seasons. At this time the union is fearful that the company's latent preference for white employees may make itself felt. Under the seniority clause ability is taken into consideration in lay-offs. Supposing 50 women, 25 Negro and 25 white, must be laid off a job, and their production records and lengths of service are about equal. Since company spokesmen still speak of Negroes as "less efficient" will they not discover that most of the Negro women are less efficient than the white women? Should disputes of this nature arise it would be imperative that a Federal Government agency arbitrate, before the issue becomes a hot "race question" with all the seeds of civil discord which that implies.

Contrarily, the union believes that production may expand over war levels in this plant and we have a good "hunch" that, where labor is plentiful, the company will decide to return to its pre-war policy of hiring white women only. It would require the authority of a Federal agency to prevent such abandonment of the nondiscrimination hiring policy.

The situation in the other Campbell Soup plant, in Chicago, also under contract to our union, is very similar.

A further illustration is the situation in the American Tobacco Plant, which is typical of a number of cigar plants. Production in these plants is not as essential as in food plants, but with a higher proportion of the cigars going to the armed services, we can take pride that production has been maintained and should note that it is Negro people who filled the breach created by workers leaving for the Army and for higher-paid war jobs.

At American Tobacco in Charleston, S. C., some 1,300 Negro and 500 white workers man the plant today. Before the war there were about 1,000 white workers and 500 Negro. In the Philadelphia plant of the same company, Negro employment has increased from about 40 out of a total of 650 workers before the war, to over 200 today.

In both of these plants Negroes have been upgraded to skilled cigar-making jobs. They were employed and upgraded in increasing numbers from 1942 on, as labor became progressively scarcer.

What will happen after the war? Our members in Charleston, S. C., recall an incident back in 1931 which they feel gives a clue to the answer. The making department was closed down and Negroes who worked there were either sent

home or transferred to other jobs. When the department was opened again it was staffed wholly by white people. To be sure, at that time there was no union contract with seniority projection, but should such a policy of discrimination against Negro people set in after the war, the union would have a situation on its hands pregnant with overwrought race feelings, and not only the union, but the community, would face the problem.

A fair Federal policy of nondiscrimination, applied and enforced by a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee, would be the only sure means of keeping the keel level. This is doubly important in a southern city, for it would indeed be a tragedy should the old game of playing off race against race to keep the wage level low be reinstated in full force. Certainly this would militate seriously against an expanding national economy based on full employment throughout the country, including the South.

In the examples discussed it is clear that progress has been made in our plants in breaking down discrimination against Negro people, and that we not only desire but believe it imperative that this be maintained after the war. Thousands of like situations exist throughout American industry.

But there are also many plants where this is not true. It is not enough for us to fight for no discrimination in our plants. The problem cannot be isolated. Should employment, for reasons beyond our control, fall off in organized plants, Negroes who are laid off must have an equal chance with white people to find employment elsewhere.

This is not the case at present. In Camden, Chicago, Philadelphia, or Charleston where the plants cited are located, there are many other plants where Negro workers who are laid off could not find reemployment.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WORKERS

The proposal to create a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission has far-reaching international importance, particularly insofar as it may affect the life and destinies of 3,000,000 Latin Americans within the United States. It is these people, as Carey McWilliams put it, who are "the real, the living, the historical frontier of Latin-American relations."

Nothing more durable and definite could be done to strengthen the relations of the Americas than to outlaw the unfair employment practices suffered for more than 50 years by both the descendants of old Spanish settlers in New Mexico and the immigrants from Mexico.

While a great deal has been written and said about the "problem" being one of cultural adjustments and maladjustments, the basic fact remains that without the "right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation," or at least an equal opportunity for such employment, words and more words may be wasted for the next 50 years and we will still record the existence of a maladjusted people. Job security and not mass economic insecurity, the right to acquire and use skills—in short the right to a decent livelihood is the only sound base for the adjustment of any group of people anywhere.

There is a sordid past in employment practices, for Latin Americans, particularly in the Southwest, where every effort was made by selfish interests to condemn and brand these workers as "cheap labor." For them it was only the stoop labor, the track labor, the wet labor in fields and plants, the intense labor in the heat of the desert, the cold work while thinning sugar beets on hands and knees often with snow still on the ground. They were to become and remain the "birds of passage"; rootless, isolated, ostracized people, moving with the harvests from spring to fall, and wintering unemployed in squalor, accused of pauperism.

Conditions covering the denial of employment in most industries, the denial of upgrading in the industries where Latin Americans could be employed, the existence of wage differentials for equal work, can only have a detrimental effect on building sound and lasting friendships with other countries in the Western Hemisphere. And on the home front, allowing such conditions to "happen here" again would be a blot on our democracy, and unsound economically. No one denies that the toil and sacrifice of the Latin-American people has been an outstanding factor in building the economic life of New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, Arizona, and California.

The chronic poverty of any group of people within a community creates economic and social problems for that community. Thus the miserable wages, the lack of employment, the seasonal income of a third of the population of San Antonio, Tex., brought about not only maladjustments as recorded by social studies, but serious health conditions. The tuberculosis rate in the city rose in

alarming proportions. Seventy-two percent of all tuberculosis deaths were among Mexicans. In fact, while the TB rate among Anglo-Americans was 51.8 per 100,000, among Latin Americans it was 302.7 per 100,000. Infant mortality was the highest in any city. Surely, such health conditions were not brought about by the well-being or prosperity of the Mexican population:

"Twenty thousand people were living in swamps in miserable huts and utter destitution," as reported to the National Catholic Welfare Council. Most of these 20,000 men, women, and children had been forced by unfair employment practices to remain "birds of passage," and those swamps were their winter "homes" in San Antonio.

DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN FRUIT AND VEGETABLE PACKING

The food processing and fresh fruit and vegetable packing industries in California are replete with examples of discriminatory wage structures and discriminatory practices in hiring and upgrading of workers.

For example, in the citrus packing industry in California, which employs some 30,000 workers, there is a differential between the rates in southern California, where a large proportion of Latin-American workers are employed, and in central California, where there is a lower proportion employed. The southern California rates are generally and frankly referred to as the "Mexican wage rates" and are on an average 15 percent below the center California rates.

Until very recently there were a number of packing sheds in southern California which employed no Mexican workers, although they were located in communities which are made up largely of Spanish Americans. The workers in these communities were forced to travel considerable distances to obtain employment. However, the wage rates in these packing sheds were kept at the Mexican wage rate level, a clear-cut example of the manner in which a wage structure depressed through the exploitation of a minority group results in low wages for all workers who may be employed in the industry.

The citrus-packing industry as a whole, as compared with other packing industries in California such as lettuce, melon, tomato packing, etc., has historically had a lower wage structure. This is directly attributable to the fact that the non-citrus sections of the industry have employed very few Mexican workers in the past. During the war, with an increase in labor shortages, larger numbers have been employed.

There are outstanding examples of discrimination against Mexican workers in the canning industry in and around Los Angeles. Mexican workers have in the past been employed seasonally, but have not been given year-round jobs and have been held to the lower-rated jobs. With the organization of these plants upgrading of Mexican workers is now taking place, and they are being employed to a greater extent as year-round workers through the efforts of the union.

However, there are indications already that when the war ends attempts will be made to reverse this trend. Unless a permanent agency is created to handle this type of problem, there will be an intensification of the economic and social problems which already exist.

DISCRIMINATION IN OTHER INDUSTRIES—CHANGES IN INDUSTRY PRACTICE DURING THE WAR

Before the war employment opportunities for Mexican workers in the Southwest were restricted. Outside of casual agricultural labor, there was usually only unskilled labor in construction and food processing, some employment in tobacco, furniture and related industries, unskilled jobs in mining, and the lumber industries.

The war came. As the labor market shrank opportunities opened for Americans with Spanish names. But it was not until the President issued Executive Order 8802 that the gates of industrial plants were opened for John Perez, Juan Garcia, and Lupe Martinez. And then there was still the fear of being rejected, the lack of training, the difficulty of advancement.

Before the war what was the use of trying to acquire a skill that could not be used? As stated by a Mexican worker in Paul S. Taylor's voluminous study published by the University of California in 1932: "If you're a mechanic, they won't believe you if you say you are a Mexican."

In October 1942, almost a year after Pearl Harbor, training opportunities close to home for Spanish-speaking workers in Los Angeles were limited to two aircraft classes at the National Youth Administration former sheet-metal center on Macy Street. As the need for more labor became evident in war industries, training opportunities expanded rapidly, but the response from the Mexican community

was slow. This was not due to overemployment. Eight thousand men and women in the Belvedere district of Los Angeles were registered by the Spanish Speaking Peoples Committee on Defense Employment in collaboration with the Minorities Groups Branch, Labor Division, War Production Board. When the Latin-American workers became informed that they were welcome in war industries, they flocked in great numbers to build ships and planes with other American workers.

But the war did not mean employment opportunities for all Latin-Americans. In fact, it meant unemployment for hundreds and perhaps thousands of Mexicans in the construction industry. Contractors discharged noncitizens following sections 1850 to 1854 of the California Labor Code which made it unlawful to contract noncitizens for public work. It was not until later that these friendly noncitizens with sons in the armed forces were able to secure employment in their previous jobs or in war industry. This situation brought bitterness to the Spanish-speaking community in general.

Another situation caused consternation to Mexicans in Los Angeles. Three housing projects located in Mexican districts could not be occupied by Latin-Americans in August 1942, because most of the industries in which they were working were not yet certified as war industries, although afterward they were recognized as such. These industries included railroads, truck transportation, meat packing, fish, fruit, and vegetable canneries, construction firms, furniture and lumber milling.

Nor did the war put an end entirely to discrimination in employment. "La Opinion," Los Angeles daily newspaper, reported on April 4, 1942, that five Mexicans were denied the job of distributing telephone books by the Downtown Shopping News. At the employment office on Eighth and San Pedro, also in Los Angeles, signs had frequently appeared stating: "No jobs for Negroes and Mexicans." The sheriff's office intervened after protest was raised by a representative of the League of United Latin-American Citizens. Mexican girls living across the street from certain citrus packing houses had to travel miles to La Verne, Pomona, and even to Fullerton daily. Pickers employed by the biased packing houses had to be brought in from Anaheim because the Mexican field workers of the community resented the discrimination against their womenfolk.

On April 23, 1943, Mexican Consul Luis L. Duplan, referring to Humble Oil & Refining Co. at Baytown, Tex., a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, and to the Shell Oil Co., Deer Park, Tex., subsidiary of the Royal Dutch Shell Co., stated: "Those two refineries mentioned, notwithstanding the fact that they had Government war contracts, pay from 10 to 13 cents an hour less salary to the Mexican workers than the salary paid to the Anglo-Saxon workers for the same kind of work."

Wage differentials are also practiced widely by the mining industry in the Southwest. On February 5, 1944, an important directive was issued by the Non-ferrous Metals Commission of Denver and sustained by the National War Labor Board on August 26, 1944. This directive said: "In order to partially eliminate rates found below the minimum of sound and tested going rates for the industry and area, and based upon racial discrimination, the companies shall discontinue all wage rates below \$5.85 a shift." The common labor rate for Anglo-American workers, according to representatives of labor, were \$6.36. Mining companies in Arizona, New Mexico, and western Texas have been accused of freezing Mexican workers on lower-paid jobs, misclassification, denial of upgrading, and other discriminatory practices.

ECONOMIC INSECURITY AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Los Angeles local papers made a great scandal in 1942 and 1943 about "Mexican juvenile delinquency." No single factor can be more effective in adjusting young Latin-Americans than an assurance of economic security. This assurance can only be given if fair employment practices are established by law and violations are strictly punishable under the law. Can we expect young Americans of Mexican descent to fit perfectly into the pattern of American life when we deny their parents and themselves the right to fair employment and advancement opportunities?

Robert C. Jones, writing in the American Teacher, March 1944, said: "Mexican young people * * * find it difficult to determine exactly what their status is—whether they are completely American or whether they are citizens with two countries or without a country. There are so many legal, social, and economic anomalies in their position that something must be done for them if they are to participate constructively in our national life." We must not forget that they are

a part of American youth, a part of American manhood, valiantly fighting in the battlefields for democracy and fair play.

In a speech made in Los Angeles by the most distinguished Spanish-speaking American in the United States, Senator Dennis Chavez, before an audience of over 5,000 Angelenos, said: "Although the present war has served to diminish the problem of employment of this group, we can expect [that discrimination] will again afflict the American and inter-American scenery, unless we do something now to prevent a disgrace of such proportions * * *. This ideal [fair employment practices] is simply a just, reasonable, and Christian proposition."

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES AND THE GOOD-NEIGHBOR POLICY

After the war, will we have to continue asking ourselves the question raised by Msgr. Robert E. Lucey, Catholic archbishop of San Antonio, Tex.: "Are we good neighbors?"

Can we be good neighbors, at home as well as abroad? Passage of legislation making valid our enunciated policy will be a significant and effective answer to the Spanish-speaking peoples of the Americas and to ourselves.

PERMANENT FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION TO GUARANTEE BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

We wholeheartedly support a permanent fair employment practices commission to enforce a policy of no discrimination in every place of work in the United States. Passage of such a law by Congress will bolster morale in war production. It will insure this basic democratic principle in the post-war period and provide an essential guaranty that we can push forward to a post-war society of full employment with a rising standard of living for all those able and willing to work, regardless of race, creed, or color.

STATEMENT OF MRS. AGNES WATERS, MOTHERS OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON, D. C.

(EXCERPTS OF MRS. WATERS' TESTIMONY AT HEARINGS BEFORE A SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR ON THE CHAVEZ BILL, S. 2048, A COMPANION BILL IN THE SENATE.)

My name is Mrs. Agnes Waters and my address is 3267 N Street NW., Georgetown, Washington, D. C. I am the unofficial legislative representative of millions of American mothers over this Nation who protest against this bill.

I am without portfolio; we are not an organized group. Our women believe that the only organization they want is the Congress of the United States.

I represent millions of mothers who are against this un-American bill to give special privileges to special Negroes and Jews who are Communists. We are against this bill to set up Communists and give them power to wreck our Nation with executive and congressional orders issued by foreigners in Moscow while our boys are fighting and dying all over the earth to make the world safe for democracy.

We are against Red revolution on our soil and against foreign entanglements. I have fought every step to war, and I think the Senator is well aware of the fact that for many years I have appeared before these committees opposing every step to war and opposing every sort of "ism" that would wreck this Republic.

Let me remind you that Russia has a secret pact with Japan, and we don't know what is in that pact.

The witnesses for the bill have had hours and days to prepare their case and I hope I have at least a fair hearing and a reasonable amount of time to present the case for the defense, for the American people who are in the majority.

I am against the enemies of America, Nazis or Communists, both within and without our gates.

I object to this bill on the ground that it sets up and legalizes a Red government in Washington. Let me stress that. I object to the bill upon the ground that it would set up in Washington a Red Moscow government, and that is my main objection to this bill.

I object to it because it is a threat against our national security; that it would violate our constitutional rights and destroy the liberty of both American employer and employee, wrecking American labor interests, American business and industry, American enterprise, individual liberty and initiative, and forcing a Red revolution here in the United States of America.

Now this is a very serious matter. I hope I shall be allowed to present my case, the case against this bill, in a fair, calm American manner. Before I start my

remarks today against this terrible bill, I should like to be assured that the Chair will maintain order and that I may proceed without interruption from the mob here, because I realize that I am appearing here alone and facing a room full of enemies, except for the presence of God and the spiritual presence of more than 80 percent of the American people who are upholding my hands here today and giving me strength to battle alone against unnumbered foes who pack this committee room, and who for hours and days have presented with many witnesses the case for the bill. I am only asking a reasonable time of at least 1 hour for the presentation of my defense.

I have consistently fought these bills for over 10 years, and I have only just begun to fight, Mr. Chairman. Let me notify this committee, I have only begun to fight.

I hope that the Congress will not be deceived by the fact that no one else except myself has chosen to appear here today against this bill, for millions of Americans the breadth and width of this fair land are opposed to it. The fact is that millions of Americans are busy fighting the war and millions more working in defense plants and other essential work, so that they could not come here today to defend themselves. I only pray God I shall be able to present the case successfully. The American people also figure that they elected their Representatives to Congress to act here for them and to defend America against just such vile onslaughts from special interests or so-called minority groups seeking to overthrow this Government while our boys are away, with bills of this character, and they have been doing that for the last 10 years.

Now, I am not alone here, sir. I should like to read some excerpts from the speeches of some able Americans who are Members of this Congress and who are opposed to this bill. They bear me out, they substantiate the facts that I am presenting here today. The statements I am making are borne out by the fact that they were presented to the Congress of the United States by reputable, eminent Americans whose honor is back of every word they say. I am presenting to this committee for due consideration the speech of the Honorable John E. Rankin, of Mississippi, made on the floor of the House Friday, May 26, 1944.

I will give you excerpts of it. I will not read the whole speech of any one of the Members. About half an hour will be consumed in excerpts from Senators' and Congressmen's speeches against this very bill.

And they were made many months ago, too, before this bill came up.

In May 1944, Mr. Rankin addressed the House, and he said:

"Mr. Chairman, this is one of the most serious questions that ever confronted Congress. It is one that goes to the very roots of our form of government, our way of life.

"This so-called Fair Employment Practice Committee, with headquarters at 1006 U Street, which is in the Negro section of Washington, and which was set up without authority of law, is one of the most dangerous communistic agencies ever created to annoy and harass the white people of this country. It has assumed the powers of a dictatorship by attempting to compel the white people of this Nation to employ people of other races, and to promote them to positions of trust and responsibility, whether they are wanted or not.

"It has attempted to force the railroads of the country to place Negroes in positions of conductors and engineers. It is attempting to force business establishments to employ Negro clerks, and even managers, and place them beside, and even over, the white men and white women they have always employed."

Now think of that! The outrage and injustice to the majority of the white laboring class that those who have established positions of years of employment would be superseded and their jobs taken over by Negroes. Could there be any worse outrage against the rights of the majority, or of any minority, in the laboring class of the majority of this country, a white laboring class? This is revolution—and I stressed that to the Senate and House for many years—this is a world revolution for communism to take over this country.

This is revolution. I shall continue with Mr. Rankin's words:

"This is revolution, if you please, and dictatorship of the most dangerous and revolting character, and you have no right to vote money out of the Federal Treasury to support it. If you do, then do not ever let me hear you again complain about bureaucracy or the radicalism of the New Deal."

Now, I am going to end Mr. Rankin's speech and submit the balance of it for the record, except I shall quote this statement on the third page of his speech before the House:

"Who is this Fair Employment Practice Committee?"

Now, Mr. Chairman, who is this F. E. P. C.? This is the most important statement.

"Who is this Fair Employment Practice Committee? Who compose the personnel of this powerful group of radicals who are attempting to reverse the laws of nature by their edicts, at the risk of stirring up a revolution in this country in these critical times, when our white boys, whose people are being harassed and insulted by this outfit, are fighting and dying on every battle front in the world?"

And I represent the mothers of those boys.

"Who compose the personnel of this group of Negroes, aliens, and crackpots who are fomenting strife, stirring up race trouble, and attempting to wipe out everything for which our brave men are fighting?"

"Here is the list of its members furnished by its Chairman, Malcolm Ross, only a few days ago:"

And Mr. Ross goes on to give the roster to the committee:

"Malcolm Ross, Chairman, white; Boris Shishkin, member, white; Milton P. Webster, member, colored; Sara Southall, member, white; John Brophy, member, white; Charles Horn, member, white; Charles H. Houston, colored."

Now I will skip about the salaries and put that in the record with the statement. I want to take another excerpt here:

"You will note that on this committee there are two Negroes and four white people, one of whom, at least, Charles Horn, has an American name. One of the white men composing this committee is John Brophy. He has a long list of affiliations with Communist front activities. In August 1938 he wrote an article for a publication called Equal Justice, the official organ of the International Labor Defense, which was cited by Attorney General Biddle as subversive. In 1937 Brophy sent greetings to the National Negro Congress, which organization was also branded by the Attorney General as subversive. He has been affiliated with a large number of other activities that have been branded as subversive by the Dies House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"Another member of this committee, Boris Shishkin, was connected with what was called the Washington Book Shop, located at Seminary Hill, Alexandria, Va., according to the records of the Committee on Un-American Activities. This Washington Book Shop is known to be a Communist-front organization, and was also branded by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive.

"Another member of this committee, Charles H. Houston, colored, has a long record of affiliation with Communist-front movements that have been branded as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States, as well as by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

"Members of one of these subversive organizations picketed the White House in protest against our preparation for war during the time of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

"Now, let us take the chief employees, the powers behind the throne—the ones who really run the show." Here they are:

And I present a list here of them.

I wish to go over to some more of these Communists:

"The Director of Operations, Will Maslow, has been connected with the Consumers National Federation, which was cited as being subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944, as well as a contributor to a publication called Health and Hygiene, which was founded as an extension of the Communist Daily Worker.

"Emanuel Bloch is shown by the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to have addressed the citizens' committee to free Earl Browder, on March 16, 1942, which committee was cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States. Bloch was also one of the sponsors of another organization, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which was found to be subversive by the Attorney General of the United States."

Now, I am quoting from the report of the Attorney General of the United States and not from Mr. Dies' report.

"One of the Negro members of this operations section, Eugene Davidson, has been connected with at least four activities that have been branded as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States."

So I could go on here for hours quoting here about these subversive members of Communist Party organizations and Communist fronts from Moscow, who come before you today, in the absence of our American boys who are fighting on the front, and demand equal rights. I would like to know why they are not fighting on our fronts. We have 65 different fronts all over the world where men are dying, and why, in the absence of our boys, when our boys are out fighting, why should these men be permitted to come in here, men of draft age, many of them should be drafted and put in the front-line trenches instead of taking the jobs of good American citizens?

I object to this bill. Now I am submitting the speech of Mr. John E. Rankin of Mississippi in toto and I hope it will be printed in the record.

I am also submitting the speech of Mr. John S. Gibson in the House of Representatives on April 14, 1944.

"Mr. Gibson. Mr. Speaker, I have been very deeply concerned over the purposes and activities of the organization here in Washington known as the Fair Employment Practice Committee. It is common knowledge that such an organization could have no proper functions in this democracy. It has been my opinion that it was born of the fertile mind of someone in this commonwealth of communistic philosophy and based on its activities I am convinced that my convictions are founded on truth and fact. The Communists some months ago came out with the statement that the South was the black man's country and in substance that they expected to put him in possession of the property of the South and in control of its destiny and people."

I want to pause there to make a few extemporaneous remarks of my own and say that I am the granddaughter of a man who gave his life to free the Negro slaves, that I was born and raised in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty. My mother was one of the most honored women of this United States, the first woman to become a lawyer in the State of New York. Then I saw the arms of the Statue of Liberty, the glorious ideal of my childhood, stretching out to the oppressed people of the world, offering this Nation, this beautiful land of America, as a haven of refuge for the people to build again their fortunes upon the ashes of despair. When I was 13 years old, in 1906, when I was old enough to know what was going on, I witnessed an exodus from Russia of people who had been persecuted by the Czar, that had been persecuted for the reason that they were Red revolutionists, but we took them in, we bound up their wounds, we gave them water, and we gave them more than water, for we gave them the glorious land to become honored citizens of this country with us. They have abused those privileges. Their children today are not in the minority, they are the richest, wealthiest merchants of this land, those lucky peddlers who were able to step up the stairs to the heights of success, of honor and glory, and they are using those riches and wealth to betray the trust that we have placed in them.

I will proceed with Mr. Gibson's statement:

"I have recently procured factual information on the personnel of this committee, which I think—"

the committee I am speaking about is this Fair Employment Practice Committee—"which I think will and should be of vital interest to the membership of this body and for that matter to every taxpayer in the United States. It is, of course, known that Malcolm Ross is chairman of the committee, whose function is reputed to be to see that there is no discrimination in employment on account of race or color in this country. It is noteworthy in the organization of his committee this principle is most flagrantly violated."

In his own committee they violate it. Just like they violated in Russia the very principles that they preach, where they murdered over a million people, and many of them were Jews, when they put them to death in Russia, and they come in here like wolves in sheep's clothing and howl about equal rights. They have trespassed on and betrayed the trust that we have placed in these people.

"It is noteworthy in the organization of his committee this principle is most flagrantly violated. Over all, there are 106 paid employees—61 Negroes and 45 whites."

Now, imagine that!

"Compare that with the percentage of Negroes against the percentage of whites in this country."

So on and so forth. I shall submit this statement of Mr. Gibson's. It is very pertinent to the issue. I shall read one more short paragraph here:

"I am wondering if our people have reached the great divide in the path of civilization and have started down the slope to the sunset of the same."

Gentlemen, when they start down that slope of the sunset of the same, it means the end of the road for these Negroes that we have given so many privileges to and that my forefathers died to preserve and protect.

Now, my grandfather was decorated at the Battle of Gettysburg. There are monuments that stand on that field to his memory, and my granduncle too has a monument there to his valor.

It is unfortunate that all of us did not come over here sooner. My people came to this country very shortly after the last Stuart, King of England, was exiled to France.

I am particularly stressing the fact that I am a northerner from New York City, but I have lived here 25 years in Washington. My original home was in New York City, and I am a descendant of a member of the Grand Army of the Republic.

I also want to say my grandfather was no carpetbagger, and I want to say to you, Mr. Chairman, that only over my dead body will any carpetbagger again desecrate the South.

Continuing with Mr. Gibson's speech.

"The greatest responsibility placed on mankind is to keep his race pure; the greatest destroyer of civilization and Christianity is the mongrelization of races. If this bunch of moral lepers is not stopped the depth to which they will bring our citizenry is unpredictable. God made his people as he would have them be, and if you doubt that the full plan and chart of these communistic rats call for a full race adulteration watch the years that are to follow soon, and your complacency so abundantly enjoyed now will stand before you an ugly skeleton of condemnation. I have in the past and expect to in the future warn my people of these dangers and fight these Communist enemies of America as long as I am able to speak."

I will end there with Mr. John Gibson. I am offering his whole statement in toto for the record. I don't think I ended his other statement when he said that we have started down the slope to the sunset of the same.

"I wonder if they have become so spineless—and in this I include the membership of the Congress—and so weak and faint of heart that they will see perish before their eyes all that has made our Nation great, and sleep through the operation being performed on our democratic system of government by the Communists of this country, and let them bury beside the heroes who made the air free for Old Glory to fly, the Stars and Stripes that has stood vigil over their tombs through the years of freedom and progress this Nation has enjoyed."

I want to know if my husband has died in vain. I am the widow of a veteran in the last World War, and I am the mother of a soldier in this one.

Now, are you going to be a party to the overthrow of this Government through insidious, subtle means? Who is raising the issue of race riots? Who is issuing orders to create race riots? Who is issuing orders to foment strikes? Who is talking about the rights of minorities? Why do not all the other minorities come in here? I want to know. Are there any minorities other than the Jews and Negroes being represented at this "wailing wall" today? I do not see any Spaniards here, and I do not see any Chinese-Americans here, and I do not see any Irish-Americans here. I have got other things in my statement about a reference that was made to the Catholics, because I happen to be a Catholic.

I happen to be a Catholic. I am a member of a faith that has 22,000,000 members in America, and I am not coming in here demanding any such minority rights. I am not complaining of any injustices. We have enjoyed the greatest freedom that religion has ever known in this country, and we appreciate it, and we are fighting to keep it. I will make some remarks about Mr. Ryan, that I have known for several years. I have seen that Red. He was born in Ireland. He is a Red revolutionist and he does not represent the Catholics of the United States, and I challenge him to dare to prove it.

Now I want to read some excerpts from a Member of the Senate of the United States, who made these remarks upon the floor of the Senate not so very long ago, and he has been, to my knowledge, a New Deal rubber stamp ever since he came to Congress. He is coming to see the light of day. I only wish to God that every southern Senator had seen the light of day in 1939 when I told them these things would happen.

"Oh," they said, "it could not happen here," and only a few moments ago I heard a witness for this bill say that this bill would be only the beginning of the medicine that is to be dealt out to the American people. Think of it! Think of it!

Now let me give you Mr. Russell's speech, or a part of it. I shall not take your time to give it all to you, but I recommend to every member of this committee, to every member of the Senate and House, to read in toto Mr. Russell's remarks. I am only going to read a few of them:

"I am disturbed, Mr. President, as I have never been disturbed before, by the evil which portends for the people of my State, both black and white, in this ruthless drive being made by the F. E. P. C., with their callous disregard of human nature and the realities, to enforce their views on racial relations over the entire Nation. At about the time the F. E. P. C. issued its original order in the Philadelphia case, it likewise issued an order against all of the operating railroads in the South, directing them to employ Negroes as engineers and conductors, as well as in any other job classification with these railroads. In addition, the employees and agents of the F. E. P. C. are now reaching into all other forms of industry in the South, demanding that employers and employees overnight change practices and customs of years' standing and submit themselves to the judgments and policies of the F. E. P. C.,—"

who are 65 percent Negro and 35 percent white, and the minority of whites are merely the clerks of the stenographers. Now, are we going to have a Negro dynasty and "Red" dictatorship set over industry and business in America? This does not merely affect the South, gentlemen, it affects every State in the Union. They are even dictating—

"who shall be employed and which employee shall be promoted, and to prescribe all of the most intimate relations which shall exist between the employees of the business, whatever may be their race. This agency also asserts the power to force labor unions to accept any person of any race as a member, and has ordered labor unions to repeal provisions of their union constitutions which affect membership of Negroes. I shudder to think of the consequences if the F. E. P. C. follows its established program and attempts to reenact the Baltimore case, or the Philadelphia story, in any large southern city. I content myself with the statement that if the F. E. P. C. invades the South with its blind determination to enforce its social views upon the southern people, it will not only be disastrous to early victory in this great war, but it will set in motion a train of events that will endanger the future peace and welfare of all of the people of the United States."

Now, is that what you gentlemen propose to do? That is the intent and purpose, as proven in the past, of this committee. We are going to be ruled by Red committees. That is the type of government they have in Russia.

Now, Mr. Russell says:

"This statement is not in any sense a threat. It is a statement of fact, and an appeal to the conscience and reason of all those who are charged with any responsibility for the operation of the Government of the United States."

So I shall submit the balance of Mr. Russell's statement, and I hope the Senate will read it with a great deal of interest. I do not think I shall take the time of this committee today to read it all. I am trying to be fair, too. I hope it will be printed in toto in the record.

Now, I have a copy of the speech of Senator Bilbo of Mississippi, who took occasion to address a special session of the Legislature of the State of Mississippi on the conditions existing today here in Washington. I shall not go into the entire speech, but I think there is a great deal in it of great interest to the people of the United States as a whole, not simply to Mississippi, and I think that the people of America should become alert to these conditions. I should like to offer this speech for the record and have it printed in toto. I should like to have my copy returned, because that is the only one I have.

I wish I could repeat everything I have to say. I happen to be the only woman candidate for President of the United States, and I am making speeches across the continent about the conditions as I have found them in Washington.

Now, the people who are interested against this bill, were they able to come here, they could not get in this room, but they feel that the American people do not need to set up a lobby or a government within a government here in this committee to fight every one of these damnable bills. We do not see why we have to be put to the trouble of giving up our war effort and our businesses all over America to come in here to protect our rights, the rights that were given to us by the Bill of Rights and by the Constitution. We expect the Senate of the United States to protect our rights and to protect our Constitution against all special interests or all saboteurs.

Now, why should Jews and Negroes be set apart for special favors, before election day, too? Maybe it is politics.

Many of these Jews and Negroes, representatives of the F. E. P. C., are of draft age, and hundreds more that are scheduled to take over white men's jobs are also of draft age. Why should these draft dodgers be coddled by Congress with special privileges for the future? Because they are Negroes and Jews? Or is it because they are Communists? Are they hired tools of Moscow? Are they to destroy this Nation with revolution while they take over our boys' jobs, while our boys go out to fight and die to make the entire world safe for these Reds to destroy this Republic or to hold down soft jobs?

I object to this bill also on the ground that if made a law by Congress it will be administered as now, and as in the past, by Communists who are usurping and using just such executive powers as the so-called Fair Employment Practice Committee under the New Deal which has caused strikes, unrest, and race riots, so as to undermine our Republic and force revolution on our shores.

This bill destroys human liberty because it pits class against class. It would violate the constitutional rights of both the employer and employee. It is un-American, unconstitutional, and is a violation of the Bill of Rights, and even if administered well by Americans of good intent it would destroy free enterprise,

because it favors special interests of Negroes and Jews and works a hardship upon the majority of our people, and upon industry, labor, and business, by giving life and death powers to these Negroes and Jews over the majority.

I want to know why it is that an American businessman is not permitted to elect and choose whom he shall employ, and why the Negro and Jew should be permitted by the Government and the law to come and dictate to him as to whom he shall employ. Is that according to the doctrine of Americanism? Is that according to our belief in free institutions? Is it Americanism? It is not. It is communism.

The membership of this so-called Fair Employment Practice Committee reeks with Reds, as I have proven to you in the evidence submitted today, and most of the supporters of this bill and the witnesses here are Communists or members of Communist-front organizations. I challenge these enemies of God and America. They dare to come to Congress to ask to be clothed with the power of our American congressional law to enforce their nefarious Communist schemes to destroy American homes, American lives, peace, and happiness; to destroy industry, business, and labor, and indeed the very lives of our citizens and the Republic too, and to cloak themselves with congressional immunity, power, approval, and support to cover up their past dirty work in Philadelphia and other cities where there were strikes incited by the orders of these Negroes and Jews. Their unjust decrees have caused revolt by labor. I am talking about labor having revolted, white labor, and that is a majority of the American people, and you are sworn in your oath to protect their interests. The order that was issued in Philadelphia came close to wrecking our war effort. Wherever they have had the power to compel strikes and wreck the war effort, they have done so.

Now, the Catholics of this Nation have never been discriminated against. They want no part in any such Red or Jewish assertions or lies or Red pogroms. I am a Catholic, and there are 22,000,000 more Catholics like me. Monsignor Ryan does not represent the Catholics of America.

I said that once before.

The majority of these Reds who are asking for this bill are Jews, Negroes, liars, and rats, not Catholics, but atheists; they are foreigners. They never have been assimilated as American citizens. They are listed as enemies of this Republic. I do not believe that these rats or liars or Communists represent American labor here. I do not believe these liars or Communists are representing American labor either. I do not believe the rank and file of American labor want Reds and Negroes to take their jobs away from them. They are using American labor as a front for our enemies.

The Communists' main stock in trade always has been the promoting of a class struggle. They are the only minority yelping for rights in wartime. This bill would deliver to them the legalized weapons of congressional power, the legalized authority to promote and force class struggle leading to a Red revolution here in wartime too, with the backing and consent of Congress. Their technique here is to work like rats from within under the guise of so-called fair practices committees. It means government by Red committees. It is just another Trojan horse, with headquarters in Moscow.

Is the Congress of the United States going to be duped into becoming a party to character assassinations, Red intrigues, strikes, race riots, and the murder of innocent Americans under the guise of fair employment practices? The American people do not need these foreign agents in Red committees to enforce "fair" employment practices, and then when they are discovered in the wrong they should not be permitted to seek the sanctuary and security of the law and have their acts ratified, as proposed by this bill. And it amounts to exactly that—a betrayal of the people of the United States to be authorized and made legal by Congress, and then call out the Army to enforce the decrees of our enemies who are signing the death warrants of free American labor, American industry, and American lives. Why, I never heard of anything in the word so outrageous as this bill proposes to do to our American people. Gentlemen, with this bill you are signing the death warrants of free American enterprise, of free American labor, and of free American industry, and of free American lives.

I object to this bill on the ground it is a threat against our national security and engenders strikes, race riots, and Red revolution on our soil. This is a bill designed by Communists to overthrow our republican form of government, and would substitute Red orders from Moscow for American law, and Red anarchy and a dictatorship for private initiative, enterprise, and freedom. It is a bill seeking to obtain the consent of the majority of the governed by an act of Congress to wage a social and industrial persecution, Red revolution and economic

warfare against the great majority of the American people, and this bill would have the Congress of the United States of America ratify these vicious orders of bureaucratic Communists against all American business. Imagine that. These sneaky, little, miserable Moscovites come in here under the guise of obtaining the rights of the minority and gaining the consent of the governed to do away with the rights of the majority of the American people.

This bill would ratify all the vicious past acts of the Executive against industry and labor, compelling employers to hire Red laborers to destroy them from within.

It also seeks the power to legally enforce these Red orders and to place Reds in all American businesses, by use of congressional law and authority, and would afford the use of our armed forces to wage Red revolution in our streets and to make war upon any American citizen or corporation these enemies within our gates might choose to persecute who might in any way try to defend themselves or resist.

I did not give you a personal experience of mine that came into my life before I knew anything about this bill, not very long ago. I am a housewife, I am the mother of a family, and I am a widow. I went to the market in my neighborhood. I had been dealing in that store. I might say what store it was, too, it was the High milk store on Wisconsin Avenue near where I live. I was very much hurt, by the attitude of the manager, who was ready to weep that day. She told me, "I have been 5 years in this business. I am from South Carolina, but they have placed orders on this store that I cannot run today." I said, "How has it happened?" She said, "I don't know. There is so much red tape in Washington, I don't know how it has been done." She said, "I have got to give up my job. I refuse to stay on this job with Negroes." So she did quit. There was nothing but white people in that store. The store had a fine clientele of white people, Georgetown white people. She left. She had been supporting a family, she had been 5 years in that one store, and she was superseded by a Negro. There were two white girls still there, hoping they could put up with it. One day, when I went in that store, my change was all wrong. I gave the girl a quarter and she was handing me back 30 cents. I told the Negro girl, "You should not be in this store. You don't even know how to count money." A child 8 years old would have given me the right change. I got quite fussed, I was pretty mad. At the end of the day, when a tally was made of everything taken in and the change was counted up, the white girls would have had to make up the loss. There was one change box where all the white girls and colored women had their hands in that till, and they found that the till was short, and the white people would have had to make up the balance of the Negroes' mistakes. So the white help quit. They said they were not going to work at 50 cents an hour, whatever it is, and have to put out the profit of the whole day's labor for the mistakes of the Negroes. Now, the result of that is this: Negroes crowd into the store to buy now, and that neither my young daughter nor myself feel we can ever enter into the store again, because it is completely taken over by Negroes. That store has deteriorated to such an extent that a white person cannot get to be waited on. If you cannot call that discrimination against the white race, I do not know what it is. I am talking about discrimination against the white race.

I would like to quote Mr. Rankin further on that:

"Mr. Speaker, I rise to register my protest against the continued persecution of the white people of the South."

The white people of the South are proud people. They supported this war effort to the last ounce of their ability. They are not here presenting any complaint about the discriminations in the South. Well, I am.

"We white Democrats of the South who have held the party together for more than 75 years, and who are now struggling to iron out difficulties brought about by these elements in our national life, who would stir up strife among us, are being constantly harassed and embarrassed."

"One of the most dangerous of these robots is the so-called Fair Employment Practice Committee, which was created by President Roosevelt through Executive order, and which constitutes one of the most dangerous innovations ever made, and one that can only bring race strife and discontent."

"The President should revoke that order at once. It would be the most effective step that could possibly be taken toward restoring harmony."

Imagine the nerve of these Reds in daring to ask Congress to equip them with such powers, and to give them our Army to wage a revolution. It would be empowering a bunch of Reds with authority and setting up the enemies of America to rule us.

This bill is unconstitutional and flagrantly violates the Bill of Rights guaranteeing to every citizen personal liberty against imperialism or oppression of any kind, and freedom from oppressors, too. This bill legalizes oppression and persecution. It would set class against class and engender hatreds and revolutions. It sets up special interests of the few over the majority. In fact, it is a bill to create for the special enemies of ours within our gates a revolution upon our soil, using the Congress and the Army to destroy the Republic, and to give to the enemies of the American people the power and the right to put American people to death if they refuse to obey orders that destroy business and despoil the Nation. And with our own Army using its force to enforce the collapse of American interests and ruin labor.

This bill sets up the Communists within our gates. The Moscow government in Washington cloaks them with both Executive and congressional power, and hands over to them this Republic. It also hands over to our enemies our Army.

I dislike very much to even mention here or discuss the race question but I did not raise it; it was raised here by the proponents of this bill, who admit they are Jews and Negroes. It is very disgusting to me. I never have stressed it, but I always had to do so to refute these charges against the white people in this country by the Negroes. They say we are race haters. Why, we have been the finest, the best friends of the Negro race that any nation ever knew. These Negroes never knew anything as grand as they have today, and especially in Washington that is called Negro heaven. I did not raise that issue here. It was raised by these proponents of this bill, who admit they are Jews and Negroes.

Now, I deny that these Jews and Negroes are discriminated against, for we are using every available person capable of holding a job, regardless of race, creed, or color, and that is the American way of life. They have no kick coming. Why, they are holding the finest jobs in this Nation today in the Government. I have a Government worker in the family. She said she did not object to them sitting down beside her working in the Government. I would like to know how it is that they are discriminated against. They have no case at all. Nowhere upon the face of the earth since the beginning of time have they ever enjoyed so much prosperity, happiness, freedom, liberty, and peace as they have been freely admitted to enjoy on equal terms with all Americans, because my forefather, because my grandfather chose to give his life that they might have freedom. And yet they would destroy American freedom, they would destroy the very Republic that has given them birth, given them everything they have got.

I do not think the colored people are to blame, in fact I am most sympathetic with the colored people. I think they are being used as whipping boys by the Jews and Reds from Moscow who prefer to stress the conditions of the poor in America, and who prefer to use the Negro question as something that they can continually dig with at the heart or the foundation of this Republic, in order to destroy and bring the building down upon the heads of these poor Negroes. Indeed, I am sorry for them. Indeed, I am. I know it is only through ignorance, through the utmost ignorance, that they are being misled by the enemies of this Republic, who, in the last analysis, would turn upon them and destroy them as they did their own Jews in Russia.

The Jews have no case here. The Jews are the richest merchants in this country. They have been given the grandest opportunities in this country. They came here, as I said, during my lifetime, and I am a little over 50 years of age. I remember those Jews. Why, it is heart-aching to me to think of any Jews who dare to spit upon the very flag that has covered them and protected them and given them all the glorious opportunities in the greatest land on the face of the earth. I say to these Negroes to go home and say to the first foreign-looking face that puts a nose inside their house, to get out of here, and, by God, you are going to fight for our America. This country does not want you to go up against the wailing wall. You have every opportunity that a white man has.

It is very important for me to speak to these Negroes. I have an opportunity today to help save this country.

The Negroes are present, and I want to reach them, I want to appeal to their Americanism, I want to appeal to their sense of justice and to their Christianity. I know they are great Christians and great Americans, because most of our finest Negro soldiers are really loyal Americans fighting for this country. In fact, Hamilton Fish was a colonel in the Fighting Tenth Negro Regiment in the last World War, and these Jews have used every pressure they could bring to bear to humiliate Mr. Fish.

It is one of the worst outrages that has ever occurred in this country.

That is a pertinent thing to this issue, Mr. Chairman, very pertinent to this issue that involves the Nation today. They are the questions that appear here before the committee in defense of this Nation and this Republic, and these people have got to be stopped, and I am going to stop them if it takes my last breath. Only over my dead body will they proceed.

I shall conclude shortly. I do not think I can make many more remarks or many more charges against the bill. I think I have completely destroyed this bill, and I hope I have killed it.

Now, these people, these leaders in these Communist movements, never really became Americans and can never really appreciate this country, because they are dedicated to the overthrow of this country.

Now, I deny that these witnesses here represent the minority of Americans. They only represent Communists. It is freely admitted by the proponents of this bill that they are Jews and Negroes and that the ostensible purpose of this measure is for the protection of Jews and Negroes, who are yelping to be given "special privileges." This is especially stressed in these hearings by the testimony of witnesses for the bill, which would set these people up as "special interests." And the Jews testifying here, like at a wailing wall in Jerusalem, make much of the Negro question, playing up the race issue and making a big handle of it, which is one of their age-old tricks. There is really no real race issue at all in this country. Strangely, they do not include the Greeks and Chinese, but Jews wish to use the Negro and also the poorer Jew as a "whipping boy" to cause bloodshed and Red revolution. These people are enemies of the Negro, and they are enemies of the real Jews too, as well as hidden enemies of all the Christian peoples of the earth.

I would like to see some of the so-called poor white trash of the South these Reds talk about come up here and wail a little bit. We do not see them. I would like to know where they are. They are good old Americans, fighting the fight, giving their sons, raising corn and hogs that are feeding our armies. There are no complaints there.

These people are enemies of the Negro and they are enemies of the real Jews too. They are emissaries of the devil from Moscow. However, they are Reds and they are Jews. True, about 65 percent of all Reds are Jews. Only Jews ever had a "wailing wall." They are working to destroy Christianity, working to build a world government for the Socialist Soviet Republics, working to get us into war, as they did do, and such hell of a mess as we have had, and now into a revolution.

Now, Jews are the most favored people in America, practically owning every store on every Main Street in the United States. And they are owners of most of the theaters, movies, and newspapers. They cannot, with any truth, say they are discriminated against. Why, most of them have become millionaires here. We deal with them without any talk of their nationality, race, or religion. If we wanted to really discriminate against Jews, we could really give them something to yelp about. We could stop dealing at their stores and stop buying their papers or attending their shows, and very shortly starve them to death, and we will do it if they become obnoxious. We women could starve the Jews out any time. I recall our ancestors did that to the British before the Revolution. Some of my ancestors in this country refused to buy gowns or materials for dresses, they made over their old clothes because they would not pay the taxes that the British demanded.

We do not feel there is a Jewish question or a Negro question, but we do not want to be forced to employ anybody because of any "racial issues" at all. Discrimination? That is all poppycock, designed to cover lies. That is camouflage to cover up the real enemy within our gates who is using this means to plant spies in business and who hides behind the barrage he throws up about race hatreds, and so forth, so he can get sympathy and help to overthrow America.

There is no real race hatred in America, only when it is manufactured, as with this bill. Only the Red revolutionists bring in such charges, to bring about bad blood in Negroes, and pour their venom against the innocent white people, seeking to enrage them into pogroms against Jews and Negroes.

The preponderance of those for this bill are Jews and Negroes. These Jews here who do this are not really Jews either, for they are members of the Communist Party and they are world revolutionists. They are destroyers of all religion, having been responsible for the mass murders in Russia and in other lands of millions of Christians and Jews also. Yet they appear here as Jews and Negroes. And they are planning with this very bill just such a terrible massacre right here on our soil. They are the most cowardly traitors in the

United States of America, and they should be immediately taken under arrest, tried, and shot if found guilty of treason in wartime. They are not Jews, neither are they Negroes, but they are enemies of all Jews and all Negroes, as well as of America and all Christian white people.

Now, another communistic play here is to place blame for strikes, race riots, and every calamity upon the American people.

Now, I do not represent Mr. Gerald Smith, unfortunately, and I am not associated with him, but I heard him viciously slandered and attacked in this committee by a witness for this bill who charged him, Gerald Smith of Detroit, with having promoted the race riot in Detroit. I know Mr. Smith, and as a friend, I will defend him. He is a true American. Mr. Smith is not here to defend himself, but I am.

Mrs. WATERS. I said I am a candidate for President of the United States.

My platform is peace and bring home our boys. I want to say this: If I ever get to be President of the United States, woe be to the enemies of this Republic!

Now, no one can charge me with promoting race riots or creating strikes as these representatives charge other Americans. And, gentlemen, above all I can say that no one ever heard of the Irish, Greeks, or Chinese yelping about their minority rights, only the Jews and Negroes.

Now, Madam Chairman, I condemn this bill. Only Jews and Negroes yelp about their status in life. However, I believe that it is the desire of all good Americans to improve the condition of the Negroes. And certainly no American would deliberately promote a race riot or a strike in wartime, even though there might be some good reason for it. This bill would appear to have that objective, to create race riots. How could they dare? Would we be mothers of children to murder our own children by cutting off the means of winning this war? No, sir, and I refute such lies. I refute it. They are covering up their own acts of violence by charging innocent Americans with crimes they never committed. A great many of the 29 people that they mentioned, that were down before the grand jury, or in the sedition trial here, that they are making a scandal out of, I don't know those people, but I will defend their right to speak.

That is part of the evidence here.

The poor whites have no lobby here for them. They do not yelp. They work, and they trust the preservation of their lives and liberties, and the preservation of this our beloved Republic to you gentlemen who represent them, and not to any special Jewish interests, or Red committees from Moscow, or Negroes either.

Now, the Jew is rich in America, and the Negro laborer is a valuable asset to the Jew and to America, when he goes about this work peaceably, and he usually has song in his heart and works hard. This bill creates resentment and plants it in the heart of the Negro, and also against the Negro in all business and industry when it compels a free white employer to obey the unjust orders of a Negro or a Jew in a powerful Government bureau who demands that the white employer accept for employment a Negro or a Jew that he does not want or that tends to disrupt or injure his trade with white people, as the Fair Employment Practice Committee has done.

This bill is against the general welfare of all people, as it deprives American employers of freedom and initiative, and creates hatred in and between the employer, his Government, and his employee. Now, that is a violation of American principles. Suppose now I was compelled to put in my house a Negro that I did not want for a servant, or any business that I might own, can you imagine the condition of industry situated in a situation like that, backed up by the power and majesty of the law and enforced by the Army of the United States? Why, that is a powerful thing to do—I mean a terrible thing to do to the American citizen.

This bill puts the Negro and the Jew in a hateful light or position, like at a "wailing wall," and breeds revolt in wartime, and brands the Jew as a yelper.

It is against the general welfare, and I really think it will do grave injustice and perhaps irreparable damage to the poor loyal American Negroes and Jews, the poor and the rich loyal American Jews of this great Nation as a whole, and would be a grave mistake and injustice to these poor people, and that as a result there will not be a Jew or a Negro left living from New York to San Francisco for the people are getting tired of these complaints.

I want to tell you I am pleading the cause of the poor Negro, of the poor Jew, of a real minority in America, when I appeal to you to kill this bill, because it means there is the handwriting on the wall for all who care to read, if this bill is passed there will not be a Jew or a Negro left living from New York to San Francisco, and I say that from the very depths of my heart. That is what this bill means. If this bill is enacted into law, that is what it means.

Now, in the best interest of the American people as a whole everywhere and to protect the general welfare and national security, I ask that this bill be killed.

(The text of the speeches submitted are as follows:)

THE F. E. P. C.

Speech of Hon. John E. Rankin, of Mississippi, in the House of Representatives, Friday, May 26, 1944

(The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4879) making appropriations for war agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945, and for other purposes.)

MR. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, this is one of the most serious questions that ever confronted Congress. It is one that goes to the very roots of our form of government, our way of life.

This so-called Fair Employment Practice Committee, with headquarters at 1006 U Street, which is in the Negro section of Washington, and which was set up without authority of law, is one of the most dangerous communistic agencies ever created to annoy and harass the white people of this country. It has assumed the powers of a dictatorship by attempting to compel the white people of this Nation to employ people of other races, and to promote them to positions of trust and responsibility, whether they are wanted or not.

It has attempted to force the railroads of the country to place Negroes in positions of conductors and engineers. It is attempting to force business establishments to employ Negro clerks, and even managers and place them beside and even over the white men and white women they have always employed.

This is revolution, if you please, and dictatorship of the most dangerous and revolting character, and you have no right to vote money out of the Federal Treasury to support it. If you do, then do not ever let me hear you again complain about bureaucracy or the radicalism of the New Deal.

You heard that article read from the Dallas News. They had this advertisement in the paper:

"Wanted: Colored man to work at night as a paper handler; an essential industry."

This so-called Fair Employment Practice Committee, with all the arrogance of a Hitler, told that paper it could not publish such an advertisement.

You cannot advertise for a Negro, a Chinaman, a white man, or a native American, according to the Fair Employment Practice Committee. This will prove to be the worst thing that has ever happened to the Negroes of this country. It will cause more of them to walk the streets, or tramp the highways, for want of employment than anything else has ever done. You are not helping them by voting for this appropriation, but you are helping communism to destroy the Government that you swore to uphold.

If you place an advertisement in the paper that you want a Chinaman to do your laundry, that you want a Negro as a truckman, a tenant, or a workman about the house, or that you want a Japanese or a Mexican, or that you want a native-born American, or that you want a white man, you will be subject to prosecution under this edict of this dictatorial committee, called the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

MR. KEEFE. Will the gentleman yield?

MR. RANKIN. I yield.

MR. KEEFE. I am wondering if this edict is only applicable to the Dallas News, because I just finished reading the want ads in the local papers and I find hundreds of them advertising for colored help.

MR. RANKIN. Oh! This is the beginning of a communistic dictatorship, the like of which America never dreamed. They want to dictate to you who shall work in your factory, who shall work on your farm, who shall work in your office, who shall go to your schools, and who shall eat at your table, or intermarry with your children.

It is sponsored by the Congress of Industrial Organizations Political Action Committee, headed by Sidney Hillman, a Russian-born racketeer whom the anti-Communist Americans of his own race literally despise, and who is raising money by the shake-down method with which he is now trying to control our election. He wants to be the Hitler of America.

This is the same element that wrecked practically every country in Europe. Now it is out to wreck or control the United States. This is the same gang that is promoting strikes in our war industries and slowing down the production of

the weapons our soldiers need in fighting for their lives, and for the life of this Nation.

Listen to this article from the Dallas (Tex.) News:

"FEDERAL BUREAU ASKS NEWSPAPER ADS OMIT ANY MENTION OF RACE

"The Dallas News has been requested by Leonard M. Brin, regional director, President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, not to ask specifically for Negroes when advertising for employees.

"The offending advertisement appearing in the help-wanted column under male (miscellaneous), and occupying one-half inch of space, read:

"Wanted: Colored man to work at night as paper handler. Essential industry. See Martin Joseph, pressroom, Dallas News, after 7 p. m."

"Brin said in part in his letter to the News:

"The Committee on Fair Employment Practice, operating under Executive Order No. 9346, a copy of which is attached, considers that such advertising is in violation of the order. It limits applicants to the narrow field described in the advertisement and automatically bars persons of other race or color from applying, even though these latter may also possess skills needed by your establishment.

"You are therefore requested to take immediate steps to remove from this and from any other advertisement for employees any features which are discriminatory as to race, creed, color, or national origin. You are further requested to advise your personnel office or hiring agent that they should disregard such specifications when considering applicants for employment. This includes the United States Employment Service.

"The need for using all available man and woman power during wartime is great, and becoming greater. By planning along practical lines we believe that there should be no difficulty in utilizing workers on the basis of their skills, or adaptability to training, and we believe that you are willing and anxious to assist in the furtherance of this in the interest of the total war effort."

"DECLINES TO BE INTERVIEWED

"Brin, when called on by a Dallas News reporter in the regional offices of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, 1001 Mercantile Bank Building, said he had received instructions to give no newspaper interviews unless the questions and answers had been approved in Washington. He suggested that any questions in regard to the plans and policies in applying and enforcing the Executive order be submitted in writing, either to him to be forwarded to Washington, or direct to Malcolm Ross, chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

"Brin was told that he undoubtedly could answer the questions the reporter had in mind without referring them to Washington and that he should be better acquainted with the local situation than would be a Washington official. Brin replied that he had definite orders concerning submitting to interviews.

"The management of the News said that the want ad followed the News' long-established policy of not running advertising that is discriminatory or misleading.

"The News insists that all advertisements, in addition to being truthful, be specific and fully informative, the management stated. The position of the News is that if a mother wants a white girl to take care of her children that is exactly what she wants, not a Negro, or if she wants a Negro girl, that also is what she wants, and that this rule holds true in all of the categories of things wanted as advertised in the want ad columns.

"The News adopted rules several years ago on personal discrimination. All employees handling advertising were told to discourage advertisers from using any wording or phraseology that might be considered discriminatory toward any sect, race, or creed and to refer to the management any such copy which the advertiser might not be willing so to modify. No discrimination beyond that recognized by law and custom is involved in the usual handling of advertisements differentiating between the white and black races.

"The rule book of the News says that 'all employment ads should clearly indicate the nature of the work and conditions of the applicant.' The News holds that not specifying white or colored for jobs that might be patently for whites or for colored constitutes a very serious form of misleading which would result in a lot of lost motion on the part of the public, loss to the individual or firm advertising.

"EXECUTIVE ORDER

"The News has been criticized at times because a distinction is not drawn in the classification of many want ads between the wants of whites and Negroes. Negroes can advertise in any or all of the various classifications. This is not the case with many papers, the News is informed. There is one classification, "For rent to colored," which has been used for years by whites advertising servant quarters for rent.

"The order establishing the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice is a wartime Executive order of the President, not backed by any legislation. Its purpose ostensibly is to make full use of manpower. Its letters in the forms of requests have gone to firms with war contracts or engaged in other essential businesses.

"The Dallas Better Business Bureau Bulletin of last March 27 carried the contents of a letter received by a Dallas firm from Brin concerning advertising that Brin said is discriminatory. The Bulletin article was headed, 'Dallas advertisers for essential industry must eliminate color discrimination—says committee.'

"The laws of Texas as approved by the Supreme Courts of Texas and of the United States permit and require segregation of white and Negro races as applied to many activities, legal authorities have informed the News. It is their belief that any Executive order ought to be applied in the light of State segregation laws and embedded social practices.

"In addition to these legal requirements of segregation, a practice of segregation exists in the Southern States that is of long standing and is widely approved by Negroes and whites alike as aiding in satisfactory relations between the two races. Because of that practice, which is a part of the social structure, employers want whites for some jobs and Negroes for others. Whites choose to work in some jobs and not in others, and Negroes likewise. An advertisement which ignores that difference is considered confusing and misleading.

"The want ad to which the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice objected was run in The News by The News management a second time on May 10. A Negro man was employed on that day, causing the ad to be discontinued."

Who is this Fair Employment Practice Committee? Who compose the personnel of this powerful group of radicals who are attempting to reverse the laws of nature by their edicts, at the risk of stirring up a revolution in this country in these critical times, when our white boys, whose people are being harassed and insulted by this outfit, are fighting and dying on every battlefield in the world?

Who compose the personnel of this group of Negroes, aliens, and crackpots who are fomenting strife, stirring up race trouble, and attempting to wipe out everything for which our brave men are fighting?

Here is the list of its members furnished by its Chairman, Malcolm Ross, only a few days ago:

Malcolm Ross, Chairman, white; Boris Shishkin, member, white; Milton P. Webster, member, colored; Sara Southall, member, white; John Brophy, member, white; Charles Horn, member, white; Charles H. Houston, colored.

The Chairman receives an annual salary of \$10,000, and the other members of the committee receive a per diem allowance of \$25 per day when working, and according to the Chairman the committee meets about once every 2 weeks.

You will note that on this committee there are two Negroes and four white people, one of whom, at least, Charles Horn, has an American name. One of the white men composing this committee is John Brophy. He has a long list of affiliations with Communist-front activities. In August 1938 he wrote an article for a publication called Equal Justice, the official organ of the International Labor Defense, which was cited by Attorney General Biddle as subversive. In 1937 Brophy sent greetings to the National Negro Congress, which organization was also branded by the Attorney General as subversive. He has been affiliated with a large number of other activities that have been branded as subversive by the Dies House Committee on Un-American Activities.

I will not burden the record with the recital of all those activities, but they are available to any Member who is sufficiently interested in the welfare of his country to look them up.

Another member of this Committee, Boris Shishkin, was connected with what was called the Washington Book Shop, located at Seminary Hill, Alexandria, Va., according to the records of the Committee on Un-American Activities. This Washington Book Shop is known to be a Communist-front organization, and was also branded by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive.

Another member of this Committee, Charles H. Houston, colored, has a long record of affiliation with Communist-front movements that have been branded as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States, as well as by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Members of one of these subversive organizations picketed the White House in protest against our preparation for war during the time of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Now, let us take the chief employees, the powers behind the throne—the ones who really run the show. Here they are:

Office of the Chairman

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Ross, Malcolm.....	Chairman.....	White.....	\$10, 000
Bourne, S. Claire.....	Associate fair-practice examiner.....	Colored.....	3, 200
Wright, Barbara H.....	Report reviewer.....	White.....	2, 600
Alexander, Dorothy E. (Mrs.).....	Secretary.....	Colored.....	2, 600
Whiting, Margaret B. (Mrs.).....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1, 620
Sturdivant, Evelyn.....	do.....	White.....	1, 620

You will observe that in the office of the chairman there are three white people, the Chairman, a report reviewer, and an assistant clerk-stenographer, and three Negroes. One of the Negroes is the associate fair-practice examiner.

They preside over the destiny of every enterprise in America. Their chief function seems to be to harass the white people, and especially the white businessmen of the Nation.

Now, here is the personnel of the administrative office:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Jones, Theodore A.....	Administrative officer.....	Colored.....	\$5, 600
Douglas, Lela M. (Mrs.).....	Chief, Mail and Files.....	do.....	2, 000
Foggie, Harriet A.....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1, 800
Jackson, Rosalee A. (Mrs.).....	Clerk-typist (fiscal).....	do.....	1, 620
Hollomon, Irving B.....	Junior clerk—file.....	do.....	1, 440
House, Marguerite H. (Mrs.).....	Receptionist-typist.....	do.....	1, 440
Gamble, Jessie G. (Mrs.).....	Junior clerk—file.....	do.....	1, 500
Mitchell, Regina B. (Mrs.).....	Messenger.....	do.....	1, 440
Phillips, Rose Louise Simms.....	do.....	do.....	1, 320
Jeter, Sinclair.....	Administrative assistant.....	do.....	3, 200
Baker, Vivian D.....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1, 620

You will note that every single one of them is a Negro.

They administer the laws, rules, and regulations laid down by this outfit. No wonder they are stirring up strife among the white people of the Nation.

And here is the personnel of the Operations Section:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Maslow, Will.....	Director of Operations.....	White.....	\$6, 500
Mitchell, Clarence M.....	Associate Director of Operations.....	Colored.....	4, 600
Davidson, Eugene L. C.....	Assistant Director of Field Operations.....	do.....	4, 600
Bloch, Emanuel.....	Senior fair-practice examiner.....	White.....	4, 600
Metzger, Stanley D.....	Fair-practice examiner.....	do.....	4, 600
Kahn, Alice R.....	Junior fair-practice examiner.....	do.....	2, 000
Blanche, Vida G.....	Clerk-stenographer.....	Colored.....	1, 800
Rogers, Eleanor F.....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1, 800
Landes, Ruth S.....	Fair-practice examiner.....	White.....	3, 800
McMillan, Lucille S. (Mrs.).....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1, 620
Smith, Delphia (Mrs.).....	do.....	Colored.....	1, 620
Hart, Evelyn.....	Clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1, 620
Ricks, Rebecca.....	do.....	do.....	1, 620

You will note that six of them are registered as white and seven of them as Negroes. Read those names again and see how many of them you would classify as white Americans.

The Director of Operations, Will Maslow, has been connected with the Consumers National Federation, which was cited as being subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944, as well as a contributor to a publication called Health and Hygiene, which was founded as an extension of the Communist Daily Worker.

Emanuel Bloch is shown by the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to have addressed the citizens committee to free Earl Browder, on

March 16, 1942, which committee was cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States. Bloch was also one of the sponsors of another organization, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which was found to be subversive by the Attorney General of the United States.

One of the Negro members of this Operations Section, Eugene Davidson, has been connected with at least four activities that have been branded as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States.

Now let us take the Review and Analysis Section. Here they are:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Davis, John A.....	Director, Review and Analysis.....	Colored.....	\$5,600
Lawson, Marjorie M. (Mrs.).....	Associate Director.....	do.....	3,800
Golightly, Cornelius L.....	Associate compliance analyst.....	do.....	2,600
Davis, Joy P.....	Report reviewer.....	do.....	2,600
Hoffman, Celia B.....	Secretary.....	White.....	1,800
Welch, Selena E. (Mrs.).....	Docket clerk.....	Colored.....	1,800
Simmons, Walter L.....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	White.....	1,800
Hemphill, India W.....	Junior professional assistant.....	Colored.....	2,000
Coan, Carol.....	do.....	White.....	2,000
Dumas, Joan S.....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	Colored.....	1,620

Only three of them are registered as white, and seven of them Negroes. One of the whites is a secretary and another one is an assistant clerk-stenographer.

At least one member of this division, Marjorie Lawson, colored, is shown by the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to be a member of a Communist front organization, known as the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, which has been branded by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive.

Now we come to the legal division. Here they are:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Johnson, George M.....	Assistant to the chairman.....	Colored.....	\$6,500
Clifton, Jeanne N.....	Clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	2,000

You see, this division has only two members—both Negroes. They pass on all legal questions that arise concerning the activities of the white people of this Nation as they affect so-called fair employment practices.

But look at this list of hearing examiners:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Hubbard, Maceo.....	Hearing examiner.....	Colored.....	\$5,600
Trimble, Ernest G.....	do.....	White.....	5,600
Crockett, George W.....	do.....	Colored.....	5,600
Reeves, Frank D.....	Associate fair-practice examiner.....	do.....	3,200
Brooks, Mary E. (Mrs.).....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1,620
Gordon, Jernevieve M.....	do.....	do.....	1,620

This division is composed of five Negroes, including the chairman, and one white man.

This brings us to the regional offices, the ones to which the people in the various sections of the country must appeal, or before which they must appear whenever interfered with or imposed upon by this outfit.

The first one is the New York regional office. Here is its personnel:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Lawson, Edward.....	Regional director.....	Colored.....	\$5,600
Jones, Robert.....	Associate fair-practice examiner.....	do.....	3,200
Morand, Edward V.....	Associate field examiner.....	White.....	3,200
Jones, Madison S., Jr.....	Associate fair-practice examiner.....	Colored.....	3,200
Risk, Samuel.....	do.....	White.....	3,200
Souffront, Dennis.....	Secretary.....	Colored.....	1,800
Irish, Miriam.....	do.....	do.....	1,800
Bullock, Evelyn J.....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1,620
Ashepha, Tillie.....	do.....	White.....	1,620

You will note that it is composed of three white people and six Negroes, including the chairman, a Negro named Edward Lawson, who draws a salary of \$5,600 a year, and who signed the Communist Party petition in New York in 1942, according to the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and was a participant in the All-Southern Negro Youth Conference, which was affiliated with the National Negro Congress, which latter organization was cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States.

The only white examiner in this regional office is Samuel Risk, who also was a signer of the Communist petition in New York in 1939-40, according to the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

But let us take the next one, the Philadelphia regional office:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Fleming, James G.....	Senior fair-practice examiner.....	Colored.....	\$4,600
Manly, Milo A.....	Field examiner.....	do.....	3,200
Greenblatt, Mildred.....	Senior fair-practice examiner.....	White.....	3,800
Bernheimer, John S.....	Fair-practice examiner.....	do.....	3,800
Gorgas, Helen P.....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1,620
Weitzman, Shirley.....	Junior clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1,440
Grinnage, Willard T.....	Fair-practice examiner.....	Colored.....	

You will see that it is composed of three Negroes and four whites; practically every one of the whites has a foreign name. I just wonder what chance an old-line firm of white Americans would have before that group.

You will also observe that the chairman in charge of this Philadelphia regional office is a Negro named James G. Fleming, who receives a salary of \$4,600 a year. According to the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, he is a guest lecturer of the Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art, which is a successor to the Philadelphia Communist Workers School.

Here is the Washington regional office:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Hook, Frank E.....	Principal fair-practice examiner.....	White.....	\$5,600
Evans, Joseph H. B.....	Senior fair-practice examiner.....	Colored.....	4,600
Houston, Theophilus J.....	Assistant fair-practice examiner.....	do.....	2,600
Chisolm, Ruby F.....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1,620
Saito, Otome.....	Clerk-stenographer.....	White.....	1,620

You will see that it is composed of three Negroes and two whites, and one of them who is registered as a white person is merely a clerk-stenographer, and his name is given as Otome Saito—which sounds Oriental to me. This is the group that presides over the destinies of the people here in the District of Columbia and the surrounding States.

The chairman of this group is Mr. Frank E. Hook, a former Member of Congress from Michigan, whose opposition to the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities is well known to every Member of this House. If any of you have any doubt about Mr. Hook's leanings, read his speech against the Dies committee and also look up a publication called Equal Justice for October 1938, which is the official organ of an outfit called the International Labor Defense, which was cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States.

One of the colored members of this group, Theophilus J. Houston, is listed by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a discussion leader of the National Negro Congress, which has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States.

And here is the Cleveland regional office:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
McKnight, William T.....	Regional director.....	Colored.....	\$4,600
Weitz, Morris.....	Associate fair-practice examiner.....	White.....	3,200
Clare, Letitia.....	do.....	Colored.....	3,200
Donovan, Daniel R.....	Fair-practice examiner.....	White.....	3,800
Bressman, Mildred.....	Clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1,800
Walker, Lillian B.....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	Colored.....	1,620

You will note that this group is composed of three Negroes and three whites the regional director being a Negro named William T. McKnight, who draws a salary of \$4,600 a year.

He is listed as being a member of the Lawyers Guild, which was cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944; while another Negro listed with this Cleveland office, Lillian B. Walker, is listed as one of the signers of the petition of the Communist Party in Ohio in 1940, when Earl Browder was running against President Roosevelt.

Here is the subregional office in Detroit:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Swann, Edward M.	Fair practice examiner	Colored	\$3,800
McClure, Catherine E.	Assistant clerk-stenographer	White	1,620

This is evidently a branch of the Cleveland regional office. You will note the examiner is a Negro, but the stenographer is a white woman.

Now the Chicago regional office:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Henderson, Elmer W.	Senior fair-practice examiner	Colored	\$4,600
Gibson, Harry H. C.	Associate fair-practice examiner	do	3,200
Schultz, Joy (Mrs.)	Fair-practice examiner	White	3,200
Zeidman, Penny M.	Assistant clerk-stenographer	do	1,620
Bell, Minnie L. (Mrs.)	do	Colored	1,620

This group is composed of three Negroes and two whites—Mrs. Joy Schultz and Penny M. Seidman. Both of the examiners are Negroes. I just wonder what chance a white American enterprise would have with that group.

One of the members of this group, Minnie L. Bell, colored, is listed as being a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which is known to be a Communist-front organization, and which was cited as being subversive by the Attorney General of the United States.

Now, let us move down into the deep South, and take the Atlanta regional office:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Hunt, Bruce	Senior fair-practice examiner	White	\$5,400
Hope, John, Jr.	Associate fair-practice examiner	Colored	3,800
Tipton, James H.	do	White	3,200
Bunting, Myra	Clerk-stenographer	do	1,800
Horton, Thelma	Colored

This is the office that covers the area I represent. You will see that this group is composed of three whites and two Negroes; one of the whites is a clerk-stenographer, while one of the Negroes is associate examiner, with power to harass the white businessmen of the Southern States.

This will explain a great deal of the resentment that now prevails among the white people of the South from the Potomac to the Rio Grande.

The Kansas City regional office:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Hoglund, Roy A.	Regional director	White	\$4,600
Brown, Theodore E.	Associate fair practice examiner	Colored	3,200
Anderson, Clara O.	Clerk-stenographer	White	1,660
Groves, Lonnetta A.	Clerk-typist	Colored	1,440

You will note that this group is composed of two whites and two Negroes—the only examiner being a Negro.

The Dallas regional office:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Brin, Leonard.....	Regional director.....	White.....	\$4, 600
Castenada, Carlos E.....	Senior fair practice examiner.....	do.....	4, 600
Ellinger, W. Don.....	Associate fair practice examiner.....	do.....	3, 200
William, LeRoy V.....	do.....	Colored.....	3, 200
Gutleben, Willetta G.....	Assistant clerk-stenographer.....	White.....	1, 620
DuBose, Helen H.....	Junior clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1, 620

This group is composed of five whites and one Negro. Remember that this is the group that prohibited the Dallas News from publishing an advertisement asking for Negro help. I have already given you the comments of the Dallas News on that incident.

Here is an editorial from the Dallas Times-Herald of Friday, May 19, 1944, backing up the Dallas News:

"THE NEWS WAS WITHIN ITS RIGHTS

"The Dallas Morning News was within its legally constituted rights to hire a Negro for a special job which it deemed a Negro best qualified to fill.

"The News was within its legal rights to advertise for a Negro in its own newspaper, even though it is designated as an essential industry.

"The Times-Herald is confident that, in hiring the Negro, the News management had no thought in mind of race discrimination. That management, we are convinced, was engaged in an orderly operation of its business.

"No discerning white Texan is fooled by the fact that the issue was turned around so that it would appear to protect him from discrimination. That of course, is an insult to his intelligence.

"The raising of the race issue at this particular time by a Federal employee on a flimsy technicality bodes no good for either whites or Negroes. Those God-fearing men and women of both races who are trying to solve social problems on a just and tolerant basis are getting no help from thoughtless raisers of incidents which, though small and insignificant in themselves, add to the serious flame of prejudice and hatred.

"The Times-Herald does not hesitate to indorse the stand of its competitor, the Dallas Morning News, on this issue that confronts, not only the Texas press, but the people of both races in Dallas and the entire Southwest.

"THE EDITOR."

Here is the San Francisco regional office:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Kingman, Harry.....	Senior fair-practice examiner.....	White.....	\$5, 600
Rutledge, Edward.....	Examiner in charge.....	Colored.....	3, 800
Rogers, Jewel E.....	Clerk-stenographer.....	White.....	1, 800
Seymour, Virginia R.....	Senior clerk.....	do.....	1, 800
Pestana, Frank S.....	Associate fair-practice examiner.....	do.....	3, 200

You will note that this office is composed of four whites and one Negro—the Negro being the examiner-in-charge.

The subregional office, Los Angeles:

Name	Title	Race	Salary
Brown, Robert E.....	Fair-practice examiner.....	Colored.....	\$4, 000
Burke, Jack B.....	do.....	White.....	3, 800
Calvaruso, Helen.....	Clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1, 800
Vetter, Vera G.....	Junior clerk-stenographer.....	do.....	1, 440

This group is composed of one Negro and four whites, all of whom have foreign names. It is true that Jack B. Burke does not sound alien, but the truth is his real name is Jack Burton Burkowitz. I understand he had his nose operated on and his name changed in Pennsylvania, but failed to pay the doctor who did

the facial operation; so the physician exposed him by threatening to bring suit against him. He is listed by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, and also the Washington Book Shop, both of which were cited as being subversive by the Attorney General of the United States.

These people, Mr. Chairman, constitute the personnel of this so-called Fair Employment Practice set-up that is stirring race trouble throughout the country, exercising the powers of dictatorship, and attempting to force their communistic policies upon the decent people of America.

This outfit is causing strikes instead of preventing them. It is being supported by Sidney Hillman, the racketeering head of the Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which is raising money by the shake-down method to try to get control of this country by corrupting the electorate of the Nation. As I said, this foreign-born, alien-minded racketeer wants to be the Hitler of America.

Let me read you an Associated Press article from Detroit, Mich., under date of May 16, 1944:

"STRIKE SHUTS DOWN CHRYSLER PLANT—THREE MANAGEMENT OFFICIALS THROWN OUT

"DETROIT, May 16.—Chrysler Corporation's Highland Park plant was closed, with 3,000 idle today, after a dispute during which, a company spokesman said, three management officials were thrown out of the factory and three union stewards were discharged.

"The company said the dispute was precipitated when employees, members of the United Automobile Workers (Congress of Industrial Organizations), objected to deliveries of soft drinks by a member of the American Federation of Labor Teamsters' Union, which is engaged in a jurisdictional dispute with the Brewery Workers of America (Congress of Industrial Organizations).

"United Automobile Workers-Congress of Industrial Organizations officials made no comment pending an investigation. The plant produces assemblies for Bofors guns, trucks, and bombers."

This gives an account of 3,000 strikers, members of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, walking out because a member of the American Federation of Labor delivered a truck load of cold drinks to the workers in the plant.

This plant was producing guns, trucks, and bombers that are so direfully needed by our soldiers at the front.

I wonder what your boy will think who lies dying upon the battlefield, slain for the want of the very weapons this group of strikers was supposed to produce. Suppose our soldiers at the front should strike because a member of the wrong union was bringing up the ammunition.

And remember, these strikers in this Chrysler plant are the highest-paid workers in the world.

This same article goes on to say:

"A walkout involving 3,800 workers at the Graham-Paige plant, in protest against a War Labor Board ruling, today halted production of amphibian tractors and precision parts for aircraft and marine engines and naval torpedoes."

While our boys are bleeding and dying for the want of these amphibious tractors which are so badly needed in this, the most critical hour of the war, this group goes on a strike and slows down the production of the very instruments our men must have unless untold thousands of them are to die for the want of them.

This same article goes on to say:

"At Flint, Mich., more than 1,400 workers were idle at the aluminum foundry of General Motors' Buick motors division in what a company spokesman described as a 'slow-down that led to a walkout.' The foundry produces castings for aircraft engines."

Think of that. A group of the highest paid workers in the world putting on a strike to slow down the production of airplane parts while our boys are dying in flaming airplanes over Europe, or crashing to their death for the want of this equipment.

But, Mr. Chairman, here is the worst one of all:

"PRODUCTION OF DRUGS HALTED; STRIKE IS STILL ON

"DETROIT, May 24.—Production of blood plasma, penicillin, and smallpox vaccine for the Army and Navy was at a standstill today in two Detroit plants of Parke, Davis & Co., one of the Nation's largest producers of these essential drugs, as 1,900 employees extended their strike its second day.

"The strikers are members of Local 176 of the Congress of Industrial Organizations Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers' Union."

In any other country in the world, under such circumstances, these people who promote these strikes would be shot for treason.

American soldiers, sailors, and marines, are dying all over the world, on every battlefield, on the high seas, and in the far-flung hospitals, for the want of this penicillin or for the want of small-pox vaccine to prevent the spread of that terrible disease.

While this is going on, this so-called Fair Employment Practice Committee continues its communistic drive to harass the white people of America and to stir race trouble throughout the country.

The best thing President Roosevelt could do for his administration, for the American people and for the maintenance of peaceful relations between the races, would be to abolish this so-called Fair Employment Practice Committee at once.

ORGANIZATION OF FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE

Speech of Hon. John S. Gibson, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, April 14, 1944

MR. GIBSON. Mr. Speaker, I have been very deeply concerned over the purposes and activities of the organization here in Washington known as the Fair Employment Practices Committee. It is common knowledge that such an organization could have no proper functions in this democracy. It has been my opinion that it was born of the fertile mind of someone in this commonwealth of communistic philosophy and based on its activities I am convinced that my convictions were founded on truth and fact. The Communists some months ago came out with the statement that the South was the black man's country and in substance that they expected to put him in possession of the property of the South and in control of its destiny and people.

I have recently procured factual information on the personnel of this committee, which I think will and should be of vital interest to the membership of this body and for that matter to every taxpayer in the United States. It is, of course, known that Malcolm Ross is chairman of the committee, whose function is reputed to be to see that there is no discrimination in employment, account of race or color in this country. It is noteworthy in the organization of his committee this principle is most flagrantly violated. Over all, there are 106 paid employees—61 Negroes and 45 whites. Compare that with the percentage of Negroes against the percentage of whites in this country. I am a great believer in letting the people know the facts and that with such knowledge they will correct any wrong. When the people are called upon to favor increased taxes I hope you will remember this committee which is not only totally useless, but a vicious bureau that breeds disunity and costs the people each 12 months \$317,160 or approximately \$1,000,000 every 3 years. The 45 white employees draw \$143,600 per annum and the 61 Negroes draw \$173,560 per annum. The employees of this bureau are the highest paid of any bureau or department of the Federal Government, on a per capita basis.

In the central office, where all the policies are made and enforced, here in Washington, there are 13 white employees and 35 Negro employees, the whites drawing \$48,540 per annum and the Negroes \$94,220.

The Chairman is white, his associate fair-practice examiner is a Negro. The office of the Chairman is staffed by 2 other whites and 3 Negroes. His administrative office is staffed by 11 Negroes and no whites. His Operations Section is staffed with 7 Negroes and 6 whites, his Review and Analysis Section has 7 Negroes and 3 whites. His Legal Division 2 Negroes only. Hearing examiners, 1 white and 5 Negroes. The Director of Review and Analysis is a Negro. In fact, the whole set-up is strictly Negro-dominated, with just enough whites to give a slight diversity of color. This is the gang that goes into the South and sets up offices with Negroes and whites working together; to Detroit and sets up an office with one Edward M. Swann, a Negro man, as fair-practice examiner, at a salary of \$3,800 per year, with a white lady for his secretary at \$1,620 per year, the 2 constituting the entire office force. This is the same gang that has told the management of southern railroads they must use Negro engineers and conductors, and union officials that they must accept Negroes in their organizations.

In the capital of my State, Atlanta, Ga., this same gang of Washington Negroes, by the authority of this committee, set up an office with Bruce Hunt, a white man, as senior fair-practice examiner, at \$5,400 per year; John Hope, Jr., a

Negro, as associate fair-practice examiner, at \$3,800 per year; James H. Tipton, white, associate fair-practice examiner, at \$3,200 per year; Myra Bunting, white, clerk-stenographer, at \$1,800 per annum; and Thelma Horton, Negro, whose classification and salary was either intentionally or inadvertently omitted. Please note that Hope, the Negro, and Tipton, the white, have exactly the same classification, the only distinction being color, and the Negro gets \$3,800 and the white \$3,200 for the same duties and in the same office, and yet this infernal Committee is designated the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

They were liberal enough to let the regional offices in the deep South have a slight advantage in number of white personnel. In New York, however, the regional office has a personnel of nine, six of whom are Negroes, and three whites. The big boss, head of the office, with the classification of regional director, is a Negro at \$5,600 per year, and the highest paid white in the office is designated "associate field examiner" at \$3,200. His white lady assistant clerk-stenographer gets only \$1,620, while her Negro boss draws approximately three and one-half times this amount.

There are four regional directors in the entire United States, one Negro at \$5,600 per year and one Negro at \$4,600 and two whites at \$4,600 per year. You will note in every instance the Negro has the controlling voice and the higher salary with the same classification.

I am wondering if our people have reached the great divide in the path of civilization and have started down the slope to the sunset of the same. I wonder if they have become so spineless—and in this I include the membership of the Congress—and so weak and faint of heart that they will see perish before their eyes all that has made our Nation great, and sleep through the operation being performed on our democratic system of government by the Communists of this country, and let them bury beside the heroes who made the air free for Old Glory to fly, the Stars and Stripes that has stood vigil over their tombs through the years of freedom and progress this Nation has enjoyed.

The greatest responsibility placed on mankind is to keep his race pure; the greatest destroyer of civilization and Christianity is the mongrelization of races. If this bunch of moral lepers is not stopped the depth to which they will bring our citizenry is unpredictable. God made his people as he would have them be, and if you doubt that the full plan and chart of these communistic rats call for a full race adulteration watch the years that are to follow soon, and your complacency so abundantly enjoyed now will stand before you an ugly skeleton of condemnation. I have in the past and expect to in the future warn my people of these dangers and fight these Communist enemies of America as long as I am able to speak.

I hope it will be borne in mind that the Congress had no part in establishing this Committee, nor was this body consulted with regard to the advisability of its establishment; nor has the Congress ever appropriated one dime for the operation of this Committee, the money for its operation being taken from the President's emergency fund.

The President created the Committee by Executive Order No. 9346, May 27, 1943, said Executive order providing:

First. All agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all contracts a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Second. All Federal agencies concerned with vocational and training programs for war production shall take all measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination.

Third. The Committee shall formulate policies to achieve the purposes of this order and shall make recommendations to the various Federal departments and agencies. It shall also recommend to the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission appropriate measures for bringing about the full utilization and training of manpower in and for war production without discrimination.

Fourth. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination. It may conduct hearings, make findings of facts, and take appropriate steps to obtain elimination of such discrimination.

Fifth. The Committee shall assume jurisdiction over all complaints and matters pending before the old committee.

Sixth. The Committee shall have the power to promulgate such rules and regulations as may be appropriate or necessary to carry out the provisions of the order.

I have given the full facts as disclosed by the records with regard to this Committee's origin, powers, and functions. I leave it to the verdict of the citizenry who make up these United States of ours—

First. Whether this Committee has any place in the orderly progress of our Nation.

Second. Whether the powers granted this Committee are beyond that which should be vested in a board of Negroes to exercise against the people of the United States.

Third. Whether the effects of the activities of this Committee create unity or discord and, whether the war effort is advanced or retarded by its existence.

Fourth. Whether the expenditures of these great sums of money can be justified when the people are staggering under the tax load they are now carrying.

[From the Congressional Record]

PERSECUTING THE WHITE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH

Speech of Hon. John E. Rankin, of Mississippi, in the House of Representatives, Thursday, August 24, 1944

MR. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, revise and extend my remarks, and include excerpts from a document that is being distributed and placed on the desk of Government workers with reference to the blood bank, and also to include a copy of a letter written by the War Department on the subject of segregation.

THE SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

MR. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to register my protest against the continued persecution of the white people of the South.

While our young men from the South are engaged in the heroic drives now being made against our enemies abroad, certain elements in this administration continue to hurl robot bombs of dissension into the ranks of the South—bombs are loaded with dynamite or other inflammable elements that are calculated to stir an upheaval of the most embarrassing proportions.

We white Democrats of the South who have held the party together for more than 75 years, and who are now struggling to iron out difficulties brought about by these elements in our national life, who would stir up strife among us, are being constantly harassed and embarrassed.

One of the most dangerous of these robots is the so-called F. E. P. C., which was created by President Roosevelt through Executive order, and which constitutes one of the most dangerous innovations ever made, and one that can only bring race strife and discontent.

The President should revoke that order at once. It would be the most effective step that could possibly be taken toward restoring harmony.

I hold in my hand an incendiary circular now being distributed by certain radical groups in which they attempt to put a stop to the segregation of blood plasma now being prepared for our wounded men in the service.

It is no disgrace to a man to have the blood of his own race injected into his veins; but I submit that it would be an insult to our white men in the service to have the blood of other races injected into their bodies while they are wounded, helpless, and unable to protect themselves.

I am inserting a copy of a letter which has just come to my attention, and which was issued by order of the Secretary of War, attempting to abolish all racial segregation in busses, trucks, and other transportation facilities owned or operated either by the Federal Government or a governmental instrumentality as well as in motion-picture shows and other recreational facilities.

It reads as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT,
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, D. C., July 8, 1944.

Subject: Recreational facilities.

To: Commanding generals, Army Air Forces, all service commands, Military District of Washington:

1. Reference is made to letter A. G. 353.8 (March 5, 1943) OB-S-A-M, March 10, 1943, subject as above, in which it was directed that all personnel, regardless of race, would be afforded equal opportunity to enjoy recreational facilities on each post, camp, and station.

2. While in general the spirit of the above-mentioned letter has been observed, occasional reports indicate that practices exist on some installations that are not in harmony with its provisions.

3. Exchanges: While exchanges and branch exchanges may be allocated to serve specific areas or units, no exchange will be designated for the exclusive use of any particular race. Where such branch exchanges are established, personnel will not be restricted to the use of their area or unit exchange, but will be permitted to use any other exchange on the post, camp, or station.

4. Transportation: Busses, trucks or other transportation owned and operated either by the Government or by a governmental instrumentality will be available to all military personnel regardless of race. Restricting personnel to certain sections of such transportation because of race will not be permitted either on or off a post, camp, or station, regardless of local civilian custom.

5. Army motion-picture theaters: Army motion-picture theaters may be allocated to serve certain areas or units but no theater or performance in any theater will be denied any group or individual because of race.

6. Effective compliance with War Department policies enunciated herein will be obtained through inspection by responsible commanders and inspectors general. Each inspector general will be directed that if, during a periodic inspection, a post, camp, or station, he discovers evidence of racial discrimination or direct or indirect violation of War Department policies on this subject, he will inform the commanding officer of the installation that such discrimination is contrary to War Department policy. If subsequent inspection of the installation indicates that proper remedial measures have not been taken, the commanding general of the service command will initiate action to insure full compliance with the announced policy.

7. The commanding general, Army Air Forces, will bring the contents of this letter to the attention of each unit of his command which is authorized an inspecting general.

By order of the Secretary of War:

J. A. ULIO,
Major General, The Adjutant General.

You will note the order provides that restricting personnel to certain sections of such transportation because of race will not be permitted either on or off a camp, post, or station, regardless of local civilian customs.

In other words, it attempts to wipe out segregation throughout the South, and throughout the countries for that matter, which would probably precipitate race riots and other racial disturbances at a time when they would do the country the most harm.

While our brave men from the South, as well as from other sections of the country, are driving onward in their relentless march toward victory, giving up their lives for American institutions. I protest against these attempts to humiliate them or to stir up race strife among their ranks.

The sooner this administration calls off these unwarranted assaults on the white people of the South, the sooner we are going to have that harmony necessary for victory abroad and for peace at home.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

[From the Congressional Record]

LET US NOT INJECT THE BLOOD OF OTHER RACES INTO THE VEINS OF OUR
WOUNDED FIGHTING MEN

Speech of Hon. John E. Rankin, of Mississippi, in the House of Representatives,
Monday, August 28, 1944

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include a circular that is being distributed to Government workers here on the question of the blood bank.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. LaFollette) keeps clamoring for this Fair Employment Practice Committee—F. E. P. C.—and says we ought to all stand up and be counted. If the white people of his district ever

find out what that iniquitous proposition is, they are going to count him without his standing up, and I think they will count him out; and they will more than likely count out every other white man who sponsors any such crazy legislation.

This F. E. P. C. would force every enterprise to employ Negroes, Japs, or members of any other race, whether they were wanted or not, and promote them over white people, regardless of the trouble such an arrangement produced. That might suit the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. LaFollette), but I do not believe it would suit the rest of the white people of Indiana.

Right in line with that communistic program is this circular that is being circulated here to outlaw the separation of the blood that is being banked to be injected into the veins of our disabled servicemen of the State of Indiana.

Here is a circular these Communists are circulating among the Government employees here in Washington. It reads as follows:

ON LABOR DAY GIVE BLOOD AND PROTEST PLASMA SEGREGATION

Why?

Fighting men, black and white, are dying each day for democracy. You can save a life and advance democracy at home. All human blood plasma is the same and plasma saves lives. Segregation of plasma is not only senseless, but it is symbolic of a way of life to which we do not want our heroes to return.

GIVE BLOOD WITH A PROTEST!

How?

On Labor Day give blood for our invasion forces accompanied by an individual printed protest against blood segregation to be signed by you. This card will be handed to you as you enter to give your blood.

To secure an appointment Labor Day, write the Blood Donor Committee, 1212 Eighteenth Street NW., or call Ex. 2995, Ex. 0340, Ex. 0657.

GIVE BLOOD WITH A PROTEST!

When?

Labor Day, Monday, September 4, 1944, preferably 11 a. m. to 1 p. m. and 4 p. m. to 5:30 p. m.

ATTEND MASS MEETING, 12 NOON, LABOR DAY, ON THE STEPS OF ACACIA BUILDING, BLOOD DONOR CENTER

Where?

Red Cross Center, Acacia Building, 51 Louisiana Avenue NW. Sponsored by District Council, United Federal Workers of America, CIO; Washington Industrial Union Council; National Negro Congress; N. A. A. C. P., Washington Chapter; Laborers District Council of American Federation of Labor.

GIVE BLOOD WITH A PROTEST!

Mr. RANKIN. No one can tell what effect injecting the blood of another race into his body would have on a young white man, or his children.

These Communists that are led by Sidney Hillman and his gang are offering here the greatest insult that has ever been hurled at those brave men from Indiana, from Mississippi, and from every other State in this Union, who are carrying our flag to victory.

While they are fighting our battles abroad, for God's sake let us not insult them here at home by forcing this damnable F. E. P. C. upon them, or their families, or by wiping out our segregation laws or preparing to inject the blood of other races into their veins.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

EXCERPTS FROM SENATOR RUSSELL'S SPEECH IN THE SENATE AUGUST 9, 1944

I am disturbed, Mr. President, as I have never been disturbed before, by the evil which portends for the people of my State, both black and white, in this ruthless drive being made by the Fair Employment Practice Committee, with their callous disregard of human nature and the realities, to enforce their views on racial relations over the entire Nation. At about the time the Fair Employment Practice Committee issued its original order in the Philadelphia case, it

likewise issued an order against all of the operating railroads in the South, directing them to employ Negroes as engineers and conductors, as well as in any other job classification with these railroads. In addition, the employees and agents of the Fair Employment Practice Committee are now reaching into all other forms of industry in the South, demanding that employers and employees overnight change practices and customs of years' standing and submit themselves to the judgments and policies of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, let the Fair Employment Practice Committee prescribe who shall be employed and which employee shall be promoted, and to prescribe all of the most intimate relations which shall exist between the employees of the business, whatever may be their race. This agency also asserts the power to force labor unions to accept any person of any race as a member, and has ordered labor unions to repeal provisions of their union constitutions which affect membership of Negroes. I shudder to think of the consequences if the Fair Employment Practice Committee follows its established program and attempts to reenact the Baltimore case, or the Philadelphia story, in any large southern city. I content myself with the statement that if the Fair Employment Practice Committee invades the South with its blind determination to enforce its social views upon the southern people, it will not only be disastrous to early victory in this great war but it will set in motion a train of events that will endanger the future peace and welfare of all the people of the United States.

This statement is not in any sense a threat. It is a statement of fact, and an appeal to the conscience and reason of all those who are charged with any responsibility for the operation of the Government of the United States.

If it is proposed to turn aside from fighting our enemies and devote all the armed might of the United States to enforcement of the directives of the Fair Employment Practice Committee on the people of the South, of course the Fair Employment Practice Committee will win temporarily. It was demonstrated, in the days of Reconstruction, that the rest of the Nation can, at the point of the bayonet, impose the sort of nominal government they may desire upon the southern people. The Army can operate some of the railroads and some of the war plants, and some of the employees may conform temporarily in order to avoid starvation for themselves and their families. But I assert, Mr. President, that such a policy will cause incalculable and unimaginable harm, and will be as disastrous in the long run to the peace and welfare and the happiness of the entire American people as the loss of a foreign war.

This political tampering, with the use of armed force, with racial relations in the South, will result in the greatest tragedy of our time. In my State of Georgia, which has a larger Negro population than that of any other State, the races have enjoyed unusually harmonious relations in recent years. For over eight decades the best people of my State, white and Negro, have wrestled prayerfully and fearfully with this great problem of relations between the races. Over this period there have been white men who have imposed upon the Negro, and there have been cases where semicivilized Negroes have committed outrages which have enraged the whites. Racial disturbances elsewhere in the United States have caused difficulties in Georgia. It has not been a smooth path that we have traveled through the years, seeking to work out our problems through the painful process of trial and error. The great majority of both races have sought to travel this rocky road with mutual patience and desire for better understanding.

There are still living Negroes who were born in slavery. In a relatively short period of time, as the life of a Nation goes, we have made the most remarkable progress of any people in all history who confronted a similar problem. Out of the ashes and the impoverishment of the most destructive war ever fought on this continent, we have gone forward. There are Negroes in the South who have accumulated substantial fortunes, and, to their credit, thousands of them own their own homes and are civic-minded citizens. Every year of this 80 has brought improvement in understanding and good relations between the races. Each year has brought better schools and health facilities for the Negroes as well as the whites. Our progress in these directions has not been as rapid as has been made in some other sections, but this has been because we are a poor people, in things financial. According to our means and ability, we tax ourselves heavier for these purposes than do our compatriots in any other part of the Nation.

I do not believe that the people of good will of either race in Georgia, and in the South generally, will welcome the operations of any such group of fanatics and reformers as this Fair Employment Practice Committee has proven to be. We are going forward very rapidly in securing the rights and improving the

opportunities of both races through the process of evolution. If the Fair Employment Practice Committee undertakes to solve this problem by revolution, it will destroy overnight all the good that has been achieved through the efforts of thousands of men of good will of both races through the past 80 years as they have struggled to establish sound and equitable relations between the races.

Mr. President, I realize that this question is shot through and through with the political implications of a national election. But, aside from the politics of the situation, I assert that common justice and decent treatment among American citizens demand that this issue not be thrust upon us during the course of this great war. No part of this Nation has any monopoly in patriotism, but I can say, without fear of truthful contradiction, that the people of the South have supported the war effort as earnestly as those of any other section, and that the sons of the South are today doing their fair share wherever the conflict rages.

I shall not advert to the stand taken by the Members of Congress from the South in dealing with the legislation to prepare this country for war and to enable us to fight this war. Suffice it to say that if southern Members of the Congress had not voted favorably upon such legislation as selective service, legislation to keep men in the Army after 12 months of service, the lend-lease legislation, all three of those important pieces of legislation would have been defeated in the Congress. The percentage of southern enlistment in the armed forces before the selective-service law was enacted was higher than that of any other section. Southerners have fair representation among the names of those heroes in this war who have performed especially noteworthy acts. We deserve better treatment at the hands of our Government than to have our section wracked by such racial conflicts and labor disturbances as will be brought about in this critical period of our history by the instrumentality of the Fair Employment Practice Committee if they proceed with their plans.

Mr. President, permit me to say that it is never pleasant for me to discuss in this forum matters bearing upon the racial question. In the five State-wide campaigns I have conducted in my own State of Georgia, I have probably made more political speeches than any other living Georgian. Never in a single campaign speech have I sought to make the Negro an issue in order to secure votes. If I had ever resorted to such tactics to win an election, I would be thoroughly ashamed of myself. The only time I have ever mentioned any phase of the Negro question in any campaign was to reply to attacks made upon me for my constant efforts to secure justice and equality under the law for the Negro citizens of my State. I regret the events which have forced me, in response to what I believe to be a call of duty, to discuss racial matters in two or three recent speeches in the Senate. I do so now in the firm conviction that it is in the best interests of both the white and Negro people of Georgia and the future of this Nation to point out and seek to prevent the dangers impending as a result of the activities of this irresponsible agency of Government.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I wish to reiterate my firm conviction that this Fair Employment Practice Committee is the most dangerous force in existence in the United States today. If it continues to pursue its mad way unchecked, it will create more trouble and do more damage to the supreme effort we are making to win this war than could an army of saboteurs. It is a greater threat to victory than 50 fresh divisions enrolled beneath Hitler's swastika or the setting sun of Japan. It is disturbing and damaging relations between the races to a greater degree than could the extremists of both the white and Negro races if all the extremists were given a Federal license to provoke trouble.

In the interest of early victory in the war, in the name of justice and decency, for the sake of those it was created to help, the President should immediately discharge these marplots. The Congress will fail in its responsibility if it does not take steps to curb the vast powers it seeks to assert. I do not claim to be a prophet, but the predictions I made when opposing the appropriation for this agency in June, that it would not only harass employers and employees but would incite labor and racial conflict, all to the detriment of the war effort, and to the cause of good relations between the races, have been amply borne out by the march of subsequent events. The shadows of the future are clear to any who would see them.

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